

# The ART BULLETIN

An Illustrated Quarterly

Published by

The College Art Association

Incorporated

MARCH · 1939

VOLUME XXI NO. 1



EDITOR

JOHN SHAPLEY

ASSISTANT TO THE EDITOR

FRANK SEIBERLING, JR.

*EDITORIAL BOARD*

ALFRED H. BARR  
LUDWIG BACHHOFFER  
BERNARD BERENSON  
WALTER FRIEDLAENDER

WILLIAM M. IVINS  
FISKE KIMBALL  
HERBERT KUEHN  
A. PHILIP McMAHON

C. R. MOREY  
ARTHUR POPE  
CHANDLER R. POST  
DAVID M. ROBINSON

---

---

F.A.

# THE ART BULLETIN

*SUSTAINING INSTITUTIONS*

CARNEGIE CORPORATION OF NEW YORK

HARVARD UNIVERSITY

PRINCETON UNIVERSITY

UNIVERSITY OF CHICAGO

R v. 21 1939

## CONTENTS

	PAGE
THE RELATION OF NUNO GONÇALVES TO THE PIETÀ FROM AVIGNON, WITH A CONSIDERA- TION OF THE ICONOGRAPHY OF THE PIETÀ IN FRANCE	5
<i>By</i> JAMES B. FORD AND G. STEPHEN VICKERS	
GUILLERMO SAGRERA	44
<i>By</i> HAROLD E. WETHEY	
THE HISTORY AND ARCHITECTURE OF THE CHURCH OF ST. FORTUNATUS AT CHARLIEU IN BURGUNDY	61
<i>By</i> ELIZABETH READ SUNDERLAND	
NOTES AND REVIEWS	89
NOTE <i>by</i> AUGUST L. MAYER	
REVIEWS <i>by</i> JOHN SHAPLEY, HUGH S. MORRISON, ULRICH MIDDELDORF, LUDWIG BACHHOFFER, JOHN E. MCCALL, NANCY MILLETTE, ELIZABETH WILDER	

PUBLIC LIBRARY  
DETROIT MICH.



FIG. 1—Lisbon, National Museum: *St. Francis of Assisi*, by Nuno Gonçalves (?)

YVAGELI CUBUQ  
HOLM TOSTAD



# THE RELATION OF NUNO GONÇALVES TO THE PIETÀ FROM AVIGNON, WITH A CONSIDERATION OF THE ICONOGRAPHY OF THE PIETÀ IN FRANCE

By JAMES B. FORD and G. STEPHEN VICKERS

## I

THE Pietà from Villeneuve-lès-Avignon (Fig. 2), now in the Louvre, does not fit easily into any history of late medieval art. It is of such a mystifyingly high quality in comparison with the efforts of contemporaries that the world is ready to acknowledge the hand of a genius who so surpassed his age that he hardly seems to have been a part of it. He is joined to that exclusive company of great artists apparently born out of their time, of which Nicholas of Verdun or the Naumburg Master are two other noteworthy members. Nevertheless, it is no longer considered sufficient to dismiss the matter with a facile reference to the intangible authority of genius; something like an understanding of these enigmatical figures may be had by an examination of the cultural level above which they tower but of which they still remain a part.

In the case of the Avignon Pietà, the supreme difficulty in any approach to understanding is found in the absolute lack of documentation, to which has been added the misfortune that the painting was found in Provence where everything is fashionably suspect. In fact, so completely unattached is it to time or place that any opinion must receive an audience; and only by a localization through iconography and relationships of style can its present unsettled position finally be stabilized. In part this already has been done, notably by Conrad de Mandach in a discussion in the *Monuments Piot* of 1909.<sup>1</sup> The article which follows purposes to supplement these earlier findings, re-examining the position of the Avignon Pietà in the whole corpus of Provençal painting. Finally the examination of its genesis will be completed by an association stylistically with a little-known but great artist, the Portuguese painter Nuno Gonçalves, author of the two triptychs of St. Vincent now in the Museum, Lisbon.

## II

The Pietà is so thoroughly a German invention that when found at an early date in other countries the group is dismissed with a perfunctory reference to German influence. It is true that Germany was the source from which this motif was disseminated; but the relationship became so remote in many cases that the original model was quite forgotten in the new conception of the theme which these distant regions embodied. If one is to study the history of a development rather than the origins, these remote examples are no less important than the earliest and most original creations of the fourteenth century in Germany; and it must not be forgotten that two of the most sympathetic interpretations of the subject took form in un-Germanic lands and were the work of un-Germanic artists, the Pietà of Michelangelo and the Avignon Pietà.

1. Mandach, Conrad de, *Un atelier provençal du XV<sup>e</sup> siècle*, in *Monuments Piot*, XVI, pp. 147 ff.

The Vesperbild seems to have been given visible expression in Germany in the last years of the thirteenth century, not long after the institution of the Feast of Corpus Christi in 1264, itself a concomitant phenomenon. The earliest literary reference to one is dated 1298; the usually accepted first extant examples, e.g., the Cobourg Vesperbild, are thought to have been sculptured in the first half of the fourteenth century.<sup>2</sup> Visually the Pietà had its origin not only in the Deposition and Entombment scenes of Italo-Byzantine art but also in symbolic representations of the Slaughter of the Innocents as reproduced in French manuscripts of the thirteenth century.<sup>3</sup> Iconographically it reaches back through twelfth century German religious poetry to Byzantine drama of the fourth century and to the pseudo-Nicodemian writings, although in the case of the Greek sources there is little evidence that they were known in the West.<sup>4</sup> It was the power of the ecstatic religious verse and meditations which called the Vesperbild into being.

The appearance of the Pietà was not an isolated phenomenon of the thirteenth century, however; it represents a new and more emotional phase of Christian worship which provoked many other novelties in iconography. Along with such a subject as the Christ-and-John group it embodied a situation which the limited imagination of the worshiper could grasp, approaching by this emotional apprehension, in a restricted, human way, an understanding of, and identification with, the sorrows of the Mother of Christ. The reaction to dogma is not enthusiasm; but into dramatic situations such as these images interpreted, a devout man could project himself easily and vigorously. Considered in another way, the dogma is a formula for the many as an organization, a kind of regulation necessitating a body of interpreters; the devotional image (Andachtsbild) is private and personal, removing the usual agent to communion, the priest. Indeed, the devotional image is one of the most evident early manifestations of the individualism which was to triumph in the sixteenth century, necessitating the complete rearrangement of political, religious, and economic concepts. At the same time, the popularity of the image led to its gradual transformation into a statue worshiped for itself, until it became the object of the attacks of iconoclastic reformers.<sup>5</sup>

Unlike the Christ-and-John group, the Vesperbild had a certain popularity outside German lands, its naturalization being accompanied by alterations. It is a matter of some mystery why it spread so slowly. In no other region but Germany can one say that it was commonly represented before 1400. In Italy where a good number of carved Pietàs may be found before 1450, many are from German hands; and a native aesthetic and expressional ideal did not determine its character until the end of the fifteenth century.<sup>6</sup> As a rule Italian art preferred the scene of general lamentation, adhering in this to the original Byzantine model from which the Pietà proper was derived. The painted Pietà in Italy is even rarer.<sup>7</sup> In Spain both carved and painted Pietàs exist from about 1430, at first pronouncedly under German influence but later exhibiting both Flemish and native character-

2. Dehio, *Geschichte der deutschen Kunst*, Leipzig and Berlin, 1919, II, p. 120.

3. Swarzenski, H., *Quellen zu d. Andachtsbild*, in *Zeitschrift für Kunstgeschichte*, IV, pp. 142-143.

4. Pinder, Wilhelm, *Die dichterische Wurzel der Pietà*, in *Repertorium für Kunstwissenschaft*, XLII, pp. 153-156, 161.

5. Rothschild, E., *The Exhibition of Imagery of the Gothic Andachtsbild*, Cambridge, Massachusetts, 1935. An unpublished thesis for the doctorate at Harvard University.

6. Körter, Werner, *Deutsche Vesperbilder in Italien*, in *Kunstgeschichtliches Jahrbuch der Biblioteca Hertziana*, 1937, I, pp. 3-138. On the question of dating sculptured

examples, pp. 55-80. Almost all sculptured Italian Pietàs of the fifteenth century follow the same iconography as Fig. 6.

7. Examples may be cited from the fourteenth century: Pietà, Trapani, Museum, illustrated in Körter, *op. cit.*, pl. 2, and Pietà, collection Martin Le Roy, Paris, Körter, *op. cit.*, pl. 1. From the fifteenth century: Pietà, Walker Art Gallery, Liverpool, by Ercole Roberti, and Pietà, Kaiser-Friedrich Museum (Fig. 24). This last contains saints as well, whose presence realizes a devotional rather than a historical concept. The examples quoted testify to the existence of the motif; nevertheless, it remains excessively rare.



FIG. 2—Paris, Louvre: *Pietà* from the Hospice of Villeneuve-lès-Avignon



FIG. 3—Barcelona, Cathedral: *Retable of the Pietà*, by B. Bermejo



FIG. 4—Lavaudieu, Parish Church: *Pietà*





FIG. 5—Erfurt, Ursulinen Kloster:  
*Pietà*



FIG. 6—Berlin, Deutsches Museum: *Pietà*



FIG. 7—Frankfurt am Main, Liebighaus: *Pietà*

istics of style and iconography.<sup>8</sup> Curiously, in England, where Protestant ravages have succeeded in destroying nearly everything of this nature, the three carved Pietàs illustrated in Prior and Gardner's, *An Account of Medieval Figure Sculpture in England*, all date from c. 1350–c. 1425.<sup>9</sup> The first, an example at Breadsall, Derby, is noteworthy as the oldest sculptured Pietà not on German soil. This is but a further witness to the close affiliations of England and the Rhine valley, particularly in the fourteenth century. In the Netherlands the Pietà had neither great popularity nor great rarity. As in Italian art, the Lamentation remained the preferred subject for representation, and it is a very rare occurrence to find the Madonna and Christ without at least two attendants, the Magdalene and John.<sup>10</sup> Even in the somewhat modified form which results from this addition a Pietà has not survived from a period earlier than the third decade of the fifteenth century.

Inasmuch as the Avignon Pietà has been successfully associated with sculptured French Pietàs, it is with France that investigation must be chiefly concerned.<sup>11</sup> There is no evidence of carved Pietàs in France before 1388 when the Duke of Burgundy commissioned one from Perrin Denys, a sculptor resident in Paris.<sup>12</sup> This was quite possibly the one delivered two years later to Dijon. Although lost, a reminiscence of the work is perhaps discernible in two plaques mentioned by Liebreich.<sup>13</sup> There is also a carved Pietà, much after the manner of Sluter, probably dating from the early years of the fifteenth century and now in the Liebighaus, Frankfurt am Main (Fig. 7), which stylistically may be associated with Dijon but hardly comes under the category of French.<sup>14</sup> An iconographical similarity to Flemish paintings of a slightly later date links this Pietà to the Netherlands, whence also had come Sluter, the creator's possible source of inspiration.<sup>15</sup>

Otherwise, at the beginning of the century Pietàs are confined to manuscripts. Mâle states that the motif is found from c. 1380 on, in illuminations, a mode of representation highly unsuitable to an image which for its proper contemplation depended on an artistic isolation which sculpture could most successfully achieve.<sup>16</sup>

\* \* \*

The whole matter of the painted representation of the Pietà is worthy of comment and review. In Germany, the carved group is the rule and examples of the subject in painting are rather rare, especially after the first decades of the fifteenth century.<sup>17</sup> In cycles of the

8. Weise, Georg, *Spanische Plastik aus sieben Jahrhunderten*, Reutlingen, 1925, I, pp. 41–42, and pls. 96, 97. For painted Spanish Pietàs see Appendix B.

9. Prior and Gardner, *An Account of Medieval Figure Sculpture in England*, Cambridge, England, 1912, pls. 9, 409, 571.

10. An example of the isolated figures is a Pietà illustrated in Hoogewerff, *De Noordnederlandsche Schilderkunst*, The Hague, 1937, I, pl. 179, where the body of Christ assumes an approximation to the fourteenth century seated position.

11. Mandach, *op. cit.*

12. Excepting the illumination in the Turin Hours which is disputed in date, the Pietà in the Roermond altarpiece illustrated in Winkler, *Die altniederländische Malerei*, Berlin, 1924, pl. 104, a work comparable to Rhenish panels (see Reiners, H., *Die Kölner Malerschule*, Munich, 1925, pl. XV), is the earliest Netherlandish Pietà which is known to the authors. Stylistic considerations would date the retable c. 1430. Iconographically the Pietà here depicted is German, of the type of Fig. 5. The majority of Pietàs follow the same model as that by Rogier (Fig. 8).

13. Liebreich, Aenne, *Recherches sur Claus Sluter*, Brussels, 1936, pp. 170 f. Also a concise summary of the situation in Troescher, Georg, *Die "Pitié-de-Nostre-Seigneur," oder "Notgottes," in Wallraf-Richartz Jahrbuch*, IX, pp. 148–149.

14. Troescher, *Claus Sluter*, Freiburg im Breisgau, 1932, pp. 62–65.

15. There are several small panels, frequently tondos, devotional in subject, which are usually associated with Dijon, c. 1400. Examples are the Pietà-Lamentation in the Berstl collection, London, and the similar scene in the tondo in the Louvre ascribed to Malonel. There is a close resemblance between the pose of the Virgin and Christ in the latter of the two panels cited and the earliest type of the German Vesperbild (Fig. 5). If these panels are actually from Dijon, they go to prove a local cultivation of devotional images whose immediate inspiration was to be found in Germany.

16. Mâle, E., *L'art religieux de la fin du moyen âge en France*, Paris, 1908, pp. 122–123.

17. An early fifteenth century isolated painted Pietà is found in the Germanic Museum, Nuremberg (no. 106), of interest in that it symbolically juxtaposes the image of the Virgin holding the dead Christ on her lap and the Virgin with the child Christ. An example of mid-fifteenth century use of a painted Vesperbild is the Stauffenberg altarpiece, 1454, in the Unterlinden Museum, Colmar (Bauch, K., *Schongauer Frühwerke*, in *Oberrheinische Kunst*, V, p. 173). As in Provençal Pietàs, a gold background for the better isolation of the image is employed.



Passion in German painting, as in the art of the rest of Europe, the subjects chosen were essentially historical and sanctioned by Biblical mention, rather than symbolic and without any temporal boundaries. Developing from an historical episode, the Vesperbild had cast off its bounds of time and had become a perpetual enactment of the sorrows of the Virgin. It is therefore not usually included in the wings or subsidiary panels of a retable. In Germany there is an added reason for the relative scarcity of monumental painted examples. There, the more usual altarpiece of the fifteenth century consisted of a sculptured center-piece and painted wings, whereas in the rest of northern Europe the center as well as the wings were more frequently all painted panels. The Pietà belongs most naturally to the focal position in a retable, and therefore would be less apt to be a painting in Germany, relatively, than in other countries. In German woodcuts, which are not, as paintings could be, alternatives to sculpture in monumental ensembles, the Pietà is frequently found throughout the fifteenth century.<sup>18</sup>

Although painting tended to facilitate naturalistic elaboration, an unusual exception is to be noticed in the practice in southern France of abstracting the background by a use of gold leaf, when at the same time in that region other subjects were given a fully-developed setting. The added monumentality imparted to the Pietà group is comparable to the results obtained by sculpture.

\* \* \*

Returning to France, after the few notices quoted, one cannot point to further activity until the second half of the fifteenth century. This hiatus between the first monuments at the end of the fourteenth century and the general appearance of the Pietà c. 1455 is inexplicable except on the ground that the first instances are evidence of an esoteric cult favored in the Burgundian east of France, and not shared by the rest of France.

The number of works produced in the years following the mid-century is evidence enough that the Pietà had belatedly attained a considerable popularity. It was about at this time that it began to make its appearance in many Spanish paintings as well, not, however, as a derivative from France, but sharing with that country the same general sources. These origins may be illustrated by a number of the earliest examples. An altar frontal from Vernou near Tours with a Pietà relief is believed to date from the period of extensive embellishments to the chapel of the château between 1455-64.<sup>19</sup> It is markedly Flemish in style, the garments being broken into many folds similar to those found in Flemish painting. The closest iconographical analogies are to the panels of the Pietà by Rogier van der Weyden (Fig. 8).

Representing a somewhat different stylistic origin are two Pietàs, one in the Rue Tillot, Dijon, and the other in the museum of the same city, placed by David in the years c. 1460-65.<sup>20</sup> Both are representatives of the tradition originating in Burgundy with Claus Sluter. The Pietà in the Liebighaus, Frankfurt am Main, shares with these later examples a common variation from the usual iconography in that the legs of the Virgin are loosely crossed (Fig. 7). The body of Christ, still in the limp pose which it assumed on being taken from the Cross, is laid across the Mother's knees. One arm hangs inertly to the ground, the

18. Pietà, Salzburg, c. 1400-1430, *Einblattdrucke des XV Jahrhunderts*, XXXV, pl. 1; Pietà, Nuremberg, c. 1435, XXXV, pl. 19; Pietà, Ulm, c. 1490, LXXXIV, pl. 15; Pietà, Ulm, c. 1490, LXXXIV, pl. 16; Pietà, Bavaria or Salzburg, c. 1440-1455, XXXVIII, pl. 13; Pietà, Lower German under French-Burgundian influence, c. 1460-1480,

LVI, pl. 21; Pietà, eastern Germany or Bohemia, c. 1430-1440, CXL, pl. 8.

19. Vitry, Paul, *Michel Colombe et la sculpture française de son temps*, Paris, 1901, pp. 81-84.

20. David, Henri, *De Sluter à Sambin, la fin du moyen âge*, Paris, 1932, pp. 25-27.

hand dragging on the earth. The Virgin is either occupied in holding the body on her lap, or expresses her sorrow in some gesture of her hands. This iconographical group has been termed by Schneider, the "Gleitage" type, by which description it will be referred to in this article.<sup>21</sup>

On the other hand, the Vernou frontal Pietà is a representation of a tendency to place the body in front of, rather than entirely on, the Virgin's knees, so that the support is divided between the ground and Mary's arms, which clasp Christ's torso. Altogether a more strained physical arrangement, this method of organization frequently harmonized with the more distraught grief of the Virgin who by her changed position was enabled to bend toward her Son's head as though to kiss him. Schneider terms this the "Bodenlage" type from its relations to the Pietà with the Virgin allowing the whole body to rest prone on the ground while she kneels behind it, sometimes supporting the shoulders, sometimes permitting another to perform that office.<sup>22</sup> The type exemplified by the Rogier Pietàs is in reality intermediate between the Gleitage and Bodenlage types.

Historically both these variants appear earlier in Flemish art than c. 1460 when they seem to have been adopted by French painting and sculpture. Such must have been the source of this iconography in France, as it certainly was in the more remote region of Spain. The Pietà of the Turin Hours is an example of the Gleitage type anterior to the Dijon examples which go back also to a Sluterian model, such as that of the Liebighaus; and the Rogier Pietàs are also earlier than comparable monuments in France.

A manuscript dated 1464 shows members of the French royal family at worship before a Pietà placed over an altar.<sup>23</sup> From the number of Pietàs which exist from the next half century, it does not seem to have been long after this date when small parishes as well as royal chapels could possess such a devotional image. Together with the monuments cited above, the 1460's may be accepted as the decade in which the Pietà was permanently introduced into France.

Since the models stylistically and iconographically continued to be Flemish, it cannot be said to have been nationalized at once by its adoption in France. Throughout the second half of the century the Gleitage and the Bodenlage types remain constant favorites, altering very little from their foreign predecessors.

The Avignon Pietà (Fig. 2) belongs to a third classification, which in organization has much in common with the Gleitage group. The Virgin no longer offers the active support of one or both of her hands, but presses them together in prayer. With a slight outward variation but with very different expressive intention the Virgin sometimes clasps them in sorrow, or in what Vitry considered an Italian gesture, raises her arms above her head.<sup>24</sup> The former type, being that of the Avignon Pietà, is the one chosen for examination.

There is not a little difference between this class of Pietà and those which were finding popular favor at the same moment elsewhere in Europe. Restraint is the keynote. The Madonna's grief is not expressed as elsewhere in gross physical violence; with a noble disregard for the physical loss she appeals for its significance to heaven.

This type of iconography was employed in Germany in a slight number of cases during the fourteenth century, where, however, the expressive intention may easily be interpreted as grief or prayer.<sup>25</sup> Apparent instances of the first half of the fifteenth century, as illus-

21. Schneider, F., *Die mittelalterliche deutschen Typen und die Vorformen des Vesperbildes*, Kiel, 1931, pp. 10, 30-34.

22. *Ibid.*, pp. 34-39.

23. Blum, A., and Lauer, P., *La miniature française des*

*XV<sup>e</sup> et XVI<sup>e</sup> siècles*, Brussels, 1930, pp. 70-71, pl. XXX.

24. Vitry, *op. cit.*, p. 84. See also Pietà, Sellaio (Fig. 24).

25. Passarge, *Das deutsche Vesperbild im Mittelalter*, Cologne, 1924, p. 50, and pl. XVIII.

trated in Prior and Gardner (fig. 571), portray the Virgin's grief rather than her plea to Heaven.

The best example of this iconography is manifestly the Avignon Pietà where not only the formal organization possesses an unequaled refinement but where also the spiritual expressiveness is almost perfected. It is not an isolated monument, however, for the iconography exists in both painted and carved examples in France and Spain.<sup>26</sup> Although only one instance of its use in sculptured Pietàs of Provence may be cited (a group in the Musée Calvet, Avignon), if the southernmost portion of France were as carefully examined as has been the central and eastern regions, still further examples of the "Avignon Pietà type" might be found.<sup>27</sup>

Nevertheless, it is hardly possible that the renaissance of this type took place in Provence. There is in Germany the dated Vesperbild at Ellrich, of 1461.<sup>28</sup> In Flanders a solitary sculptured Pietà which cannot be more accurately located than in the second half of the century bears witness to the presence of the iconography in that region.<sup>29</sup> There is, in addition, a class of Flemish devotional paintings made on parchment to be bound in prayer books which are significant in this connection. Examples may be found from approximately the middle of the fifteenth century.<sup>30</sup> When the subject chosen is the Pietà, the body of Christ rests on the Virgin's knees while Mary holds her hands in the gesture of prayer. Only the head, arms, and torso of Christ and the similarly abbreviated body of the Virgin are contained within the rather crowded composition. The intention back of the choice of arrangement was evidently to obtain as large a representation of the image as space would permit, with a restriction only to essentials. Where space would permit, as in a larger, panel painting, this compensation was dispensed with. The two figures are set against a neutral ground. Despite the wide compositional divergency between this type of Pietà and the Avignon example, the resemblance in the pose of the Virgin may not be fortuitous. Together with the other German and Flemish sculptured groups there are evidently a number of precedents to which the master of the Avignon Pietà could have looked for inspiration.

The greatest number of instances of the "Avignon Pietà type" are localized in central France. Only there are the examples numerous enough to constitute a distinct and important unit of iconography. The scattered monuments elsewhere are not so numerous or compact as this single French group. With the possible exception of the sculptured Pietà in the Musée Archéologique, Le Mans, there is no evidence known to the authors that this type of Pietà was in favor in central France before the last quarter of the century.<sup>31</sup> The typical example here illustrated (Fig. 4) at Lavaudieu seems to belong to the very end of the century. As in the majority of sculptural groups of this type, passionate grief has changed to a gentle melancholy, and flowing lines in the draperies and silhouette replace the jarring expressiveness of the angular Flemish manner. This amelioration, as clearly apparent in other subjects as in Pietàs, has given to the period in which it flourished the name of the *Détente*. The restrained pathos of the iconography of the Pietà at this time is in such complete harmony with the whole spirit of the *Détente* that the two may safely be considered as contemporary manifestations of the same underlying spiritual condition which gripped France in the late fifteenth and early sixteenth century.

26. Cf. Appendices A and B. All of this type are labeled "Avignon Pietà type."

27. Mandach, *op. cit.*, pl. 11.

28. Rothschild, E., *op. cit.*, p. 107. He cites a similar example at Kirrweiler of approximately the same date.

29. Casier, J., and Bergmans, P., *L'art ancien dans les Flandres*, Brussels, 1914, II, pl. XV.

30. Winkler, F., *Die nordfranzösische Malerei im 15. Jahrhundert und ihr Verhältnis zur altniederländischen Malerei*, in *Belgische Kunstdenkmäler*, Munich, 1923, p. 255 and ill. 275, being a leaf in the Johnson collection, Philadelphia, and London, British Museum, Add. 38126, f. 240 v.

31. Photograph, Marburg, 47603.





FIG. 8—Brussels, Museum: *Pietà*, by Rogier van der Weyden



FIG. 9—Paris, Cluny Museum: *Pietà from the Hospice of Tarascon*



FIG. 10—Nice, Church of Cimiez: *Altarpiece*, by Louis Brea



FIG. 11—Ágreda, Church of N. S. de la Peña: *Predella from Altarpiece*



FIG. 12—Madrid, Archaeological Museum: *Retable of St. Dominic*, by B. Bermejo  
Central Panel



The Avignon Pietà belongs to the beginning of this movement, when there were still remnants of the earlier Flemish influence discernible both in the sharp folds of the garments and in the display of profound grief, now curbed but not eliminated. It stands closer to the Rogier van der Weyden conception of the theme than to a Pietà like that at Lavaudieu.

In view of the scarcity of dated monuments in all French sculpture in the second half of the fifteenth century, stylistically it is very difficult to come to any conclusions about chronology, however valuable these would be in a discussion of the date of the Avignon Pietà. When one is studying the Pietà group a further difficulty is superimposed, that of the accuracy of very provincial devotional images as indicators of the chronology. Of sculptured Pietàs, that at Moissac, bearing the inscription 1476, is the only dated example.<sup>32</sup> Of mediocre quality, it bears little resemblance to other work and may only doubtfully represent the character of art of the moment. Among painted altarpieces, that by Louis Brea (Fig. 10), in the church of Cimiez, Nice, is dated 1475. Again, this is the sole example.<sup>33</sup> It will be shown below in this article that the Nice retable is probably the reflection of an earlier work. David has assigned dates to several Pietàs which reflect the same iconography as the Avignon Pietà, in addition to those already cited for the Gleitlage type. That at Talant he places in the last third of the century.<sup>34</sup>

It would be particularly helpful if the whole central French group of images using the same iconography as the Avignon Pietà were arranged chronologically. Although most are posterior, there may be some monuments of this group prior to the Provençal painting. If this were the case, the method of describing the scene could have been learned much closer to Provence than Flanders and Germany, the only other places where the motif is found in the second half of the fifteenth century. Central France would thus be the channel through which the iconography reached Provence. That this was not the furthest outpost is indicated by imitations in Spain, where, however, direct Flemish influence may also have brought the type.<sup>35</sup> In some cases the latter alternative is disposed of by signs of direct copying from the Avignon Pietà itself (cf. below). All these interrelations of regions are useless in determining either the origin of the artist who painted the Avignon Pietà or the ultimate source of the iconography.

What we may safely conclude may be stated summarily. Since all forms of the Pietà in France enjoyed general favor only after c. 1460 and that particular subdivision to which the Avignon Pietà belongs had seemingly a much later origin in the 1470's and reached its full popularity only in the last decades of the century, normally the date of the Avignon Pietà cannot be placed before c. 1470.<sup>36</sup> It has been noted that stylistic considerations would make it among the earliest examples of its iconographical type. The clear divergencies from this model even in neighboring regions indicate that it cannot be considered, except in a very general sense, a prototype.

If the *terminus post quem* is uncertain, the *terminus ante quem* is more exactly fixed. The triptych of the Pietà signed and dated by Louis Brea in 1475 (Fig. 10) provides this evidence.<sup>37</sup> The information about the altarpiece is given on a slip of paper at the left corner of the central panel and can scarcely be challenged in authenticity. From a comparison with the Avignon Pietà of such details as the general composition of the two

32. Photograph, Marburg 30825. Mâle, *L'art religieux de la fin du moyen âge en France*, p. 123.

33. Labande, L. H., *Les Brea*, Nice, 1937, pp. 24-27.

34. David, H., *op. cit.*, p. 67.

35. E.g., Pietà, S. Esteban, Los Balbases (Post, C. R., *History of Spanish Painting*, Cambridge, U.S.A., 1930, IV, 1, pp. 217-219); Pietà, Retable of the Crucifixion,

Espinosa de los Monteros (Post, *ibid.*, pp. 228-230).

36. The value of even this very tentative *terminus post quem* may be realized when one is faced by the opinion of a critic who would date the Avignon Pietà ca. 1425. (Cf. Chamson, Lucile, *Nicolas Froment et l'école avignonnaise au XV<sup>e</sup> siècle*, Paris, 1931, p. 23.)

37. Labande, C. H., *Les Brea*, Nice, 1937, pp. 24-31.

principal figures, the painting of the chest and shoulders of Christ, the low horizon culminating in mountains, the gold backgrounds—now overpainted in the Brea altarpiece with a later sky effect—one must conclude that the resemblances are not fortuitous.<sup>38</sup> It would seem hardly likely that the author of the Avignon Pietà derived his ideas from Brea, for the high quality and homogeneous character of his work is in complete contrast to the lesser quality and more eclectic manner of Brea. To illustrate the quality of unevenness in the latter due to uncertain imitation, the powerful plasticity of the shoulders of Christ should be compared with the almost meager handling of the rest of the torso; or the bold foreshortening, almost sculptural character, and the advanced composition of the St. Martin and the Beggar in one wing, with the St. Catherine in the other, an unimaginative conception, the body lost behind the voluminous folds of her heavily figured gown. That Brea was an imitative artist is probable from the evidence of the very close similarity of the St. Martin and the Beggar of the wing to a panel of the same subject in the altarpiece in the cathedral of Treviglio, the work of Butinone and Zenale. The careers of these artists antedate the earliest mention of Brea, although this particular work was begun in 1485 and is actually later than the 1475 retable of the Pietà.<sup>39</sup> In the light of Brea's later facility in absorbing Italian influence, it may be that he had an early training under Butinone or Zenale, or had at least seen a reproduction of what may have been a shop cartoon. Whether or not he was Italian-trained makes no difference, however, to the problem of his use of the Avignon Pietà: there is no evidence that he brought the motif in from Italy, where in that form it did not at the moment exist.

The memory of the Avignon Pietà must have been immediate, for it went hauntingly with him through life. It is still spiritually present in the Pietà of the Curé Teste in the cathedral of Monaco, dated by its termination in 1505.<sup>40</sup> Among the works attributed to Louis, the Pietà in the church of St. Martin, Nice, is even closer to the Provençal original in style although iconographically there is no resemblance.<sup>41</sup> A lost Pietà ordered by the Friars Minor of Vintimille dates from 1492.<sup>42</sup> In the church of the Dominicans at Taggia is a Brea school piece of the same subject;<sup>43</sup> and at Sospel an altar of the Annunciation with the Pietà in the pinnacle by the son François Brea.<sup>44</sup> By a related hand is a large Pietà in the convent of the White Nuns, Monaco; and finally at Bonson is a very indifferent Pietà done by a follower of Jacobus Durandus, and therefore by a contemporary of Louis Brea, with the same iconography as the Avignon Pietà.<sup>45</sup> This whole cluster of works, dating over a quarter of a century, generally similar in iconography and to a slight degree in style, are witness to a more than ordinary stimulus.

If 1475 be the *terminus ante quem*, the possibility suggested at some length by Mandach that the Avignon Pietà is the work of Nicolas Froment must be immediately discarded.<sup>46</sup> He proposed to add it to the two known works of that master, placing it after the second, the retable of the Burning Bush, arguing plausibly from several striking resemblances that it was possible for a man to make enough changes in his manner from the 1461 Resurrection of Lazarus to the 1475-76 retable of the Burning Bush to accommodate the Pietà at the remove of another style progression.<sup>47</sup> He accordingly would have dated it c. 1480 or slightly later. If, as we have seen, 1475 is the *terminus ante quem*, one cannot insert the

38. *Ibid.*, p. 28.

39. *Ibid.*, p. 24.

40. *Ibid.*, pp. 72-75.

41. *Ibid.*, pp. 131-132.

42. *Ibid.*, p. 93.

43. *Ibid.*, p. 132.

44. *Ibid.*, pp. 214-217.

45. Labande, *Les peintres niçois des xv<sup>e</sup> et xvi<sup>e</sup> siècles*, in *Gazette des beaux arts*, 1912, II, pp. 296-297.

46. Mandach, *op. cit.*, p. 184: "La paternité de Charenton est exclue, celle de Villate est possible, celle de Froment nous paraît probable."

47. *Ibid.*, p. 179.

work either between 1461-1475 or even before 1461 in the development of Froment; for, surprising as Froment's evolution is, it is hard to conceive of a perfection of manner in spirit and technique so entirely different from the inferior productions which followed it. As for the panel of St. Mitre tentatively associated with Froment in his most advanced and latest period, its relations to the Avignon Pietà demonstrate perhaps the counter-influence upon Froment of the unknown master.<sup>48</sup> That mutual contacts were shared by these two alone is not true: there is a whole class of the most significant monuments in Provence that have a homogeneity in details which give the lie to any attempt to destroy a school there.

To the other chief Pietà from Provence, that from Tarascon, now in the Cluny Museum (Fig. 9), the Avignon Pietà has little relation; and it might be said that the two have nothing in common which could not be had from another common source were it not for the iconography of John removing the Crown of Thorns from Christ's head, accomplishing the task with the same delicately posed and shaped hands as those of the Avignon Pietà (Fig. 2). Again the background is, or was, since it has been painted over, in gold.

The Pietà at Sospel (Alpes-Maritimes) and that probably of Provençal origin in the Wadsworth Athenaeum, Hartford, Connecticut, bear no resemblance iconographically to anything else in the region, the first being, however, a rude reflection of the style of Louis Brea.<sup>49</sup>

A comparative examination of the Avignon Pietà and Spanish interpretations of the same subject is very appropriate in the light of the close cultural and political relations which had existed between southern France and Spain for centuries. In one case, a sculptured Pietà in S. Magdalena, Valladolid, seems to be an unwitting caricature of the Avignon Pietà, especially in the mannered pose of the hands of John.<sup>50</sup> Here there is violence without profundity; and in no sense can the resemblance be construed as other than the result of some accidental and momentary contact with the Avignon Pietà.<sup>51</sup>

To the 1490 Pietà by Bermejo in the cathedral of Barcelona, the Avignon Pietà bears only a general resemblance, that results from spiritual inspiration rather than direct imitation (Fig. 3). The theory of Sanpere that Bermejo painted both Pietàs is, of course, out of the question, unless he performed an astonishing *volte-face* in his style. In addition to the influence of the Avignon picture apparent in the Barcelona Pietà, Bermejo displays in another work reminiscences of analogous external influence, namely, in the panel of Sto. Domingo de Silos contracted for in 1474 (Fig. 12).<sup>52</sup> Aside from a certain similarity in the countenances of Sto. Domingo and the clerical donor, what is most striking is the repetition of the folded alb beneath the heavy chasuble, exactly comparable to the white gown, one corner of which is visible beneath the Virgin's blue robe in the Avignon Pietà. This constitutes at least partial evidence to the effect that he had seen the work. To anticipate later discussion, the head of the saintly abbot (Fig. 31) bears a very close resemblance to the archbishop in the altarpiece of the Archbishop (Fig. 33), one of the twin triptychs dedicated to St. Vincent painted by the Portuguese Nuno Gonçalves and now in the Museu Nacional, Lisbon. It is believed that Bermejo came from Andalusia, which is not far re-

48. *Ibid.*, p. 172.

49. Labande, *Les peintres niçois des xv<sup>e</sup> et xvi<sup>e</sup> siècles*, in *Gazette des beaux arts*, 1912, II, pp. 157-158.

50. Weise, Georg, *Spanische Plastik aus sieben Jahrhunderten*, I, pp. 56-57, and pl. CXLI.

51. Another instance of an apparently inexplicable imitation of the Avignon Pietà is the painted Pietà in S. Esteban, Los Balbases, a work under the influence of Alonso de Sedano (the Burgos Master). The unusual

detail of John removing the Crown of Thorns as well as a general similarity in iconography makes the resemblance all the more striking, although in the case of such a rude artist the explanation must be that of an autochthonous invention. Stylistically there is no resemblance at all. (Cf. Appendix B, 11, 24.)

52. Post, C. R., *History of Spanish Painting*, V, pp. 107-108.



moved from Lisbon; and it has been conjectured that ultimately his family was Portuguese.<sup>53</sup> The questions arise whether Nuno Gonçalves and the Master of the Avignon Pietà were separate influences on him, or, perhaps, one and the same person. If the latter be the case it is impossible to say at what time Bermejo came in contact with the Provençal work. If the former possibility is accepted, we may suppose that he saw the Pietà after his arrival in northern Spain at least by 1467, and before 1474.<sup>54</sup> Since he shows almost no further evidence of contact with either Nuno or the Avignon Pietà, the suggestion follows that a single temporary stimulus is the source of ostensibly separate influences.

Somewhere in this confusion must be fitted a Pietà on an altar at Ágreda (Fig. 11), a town on the border between Aragon and Castile. Strangely, it shows a relation to the Avignon Pietà on the one hand, and to the Bermejo Pietà of 1490 on the other. The general ordering of the composition is after the former, the features of the Madonna and the style depend upon the latter work. It is a kind of travesty on an ideal combination of the two. Does it echo an earlier work, now lost, by Bermejo, who is evidently the formative influence on the art of this minor Aragonese painter? Such a supposition would not be improbable, were there any other evidence of its existence among Bermejo's many followers. In the parallel case of a lost Crucifixion by this influential master, reminiscences may be traced through several panels by his artistic dependents.<sup>55</sup> Considering his marked superiority to many fellow imitators of Bermejo's manner, the Ágreda master may conceivably have traveled as far as Avignon and not, by reason of his rustic talent, been satisfied and compelled to remain isolated in his provincial success.

Returning to the suggestion that the Ágreda master may have obtained his information through Bermejo, we must postulate that the latter had either seen the Avignon Pietà *in situ* in Provence or have known its author and that unknown artist's cartoon. Since, as we have seen, the Avignon Pietà must have been already completed by 1475, and since an indication of its influence is found in the Sto. Domingo panel of 1474, Bermejo must have made the contact prior to 1475. How much earlier one cannot say; perhaps after his arrival in Aragon as early as 1467,<sup>56</sup> perhaps in Seville or southern Spain, or even in Portugal whence he is conjectured to have come. With whom or what he was in contact is equally conjectural. If with the painting of the Pietà, it was probably in Provence since the numerous affiliations with the remainder of the Provençal monuments point to a localized school. If with the artist, or with the artist's master, the meeting might have taken place in Spain, Portugal, Provence, or even Flanders. What his relations to that man were, it is almost as impossible to know. Since Bermejo did not reach his apogee until c. 1485-90, and the Avignon Pietà master painted his masterpiece nearly two decades earlier, one is inclined to consider Bermejo the younger man, and the artist influenced. The final possibility that Bermejo and the master of the Avignon Pietà were at some time pupils of the same teacher must be entertained, but, like the others, cannot be definitely accepted.

One ought not to ignore the obvious affinities with the remaining paintings which surely come from the region of Provence. Earliest of these is the Coronation of the Virgin, dated by its contract soon after 1453, by Enguerrand Charenton. Mandach comments on the expressive elegance with which hands are painted in this work, pointing to the hands of the St. John in the Pietà as comparable to those of several figures throughout the Corona-

53. Post, *op. cit.*, V, pp. 107-108.

54. *Ibid.*, p. 184.

55. Professor C. R. Post has most kindly put at the

authors' disposal this information which is to be published in the next volume of the *History of Spanish Painting*.

56. Post, *op. cit.*, V, p. 184.



FIG. 13—*Triptych of the Infante*

*Lisbon, National Museum*



FIG. 14—*Triptych of the Archbishop*

*Lisbon, National Museum*





FIG. 15—*Panel of the Infante*  
Lisbon, National Museum: Retables of St. Vincent, by Nuno Gonçalves; Central Panels



FIG. 16—*Panel of the Archbishop*  
Lisbon, National Museum: Retables of St. Vincent, by Nuno Gonçalves; Central Panels

tion of the Virgin.<sup>57</sup> The landscape also he believes composed after the same principles as those applied to the Pietà, with occasional two-pointed peaks such as that which perhaps appears in the background in the Pietà. As to the hands, as Mandach himself recognizes, such delicacy in their manipulation is not uncommon throughout the whole Provençal school, in the later Annunciation in the Musée Calvet, Avignon, as well as in the retable of the Burning Bush. This elegance is not confined to paintings of high quality alone, however; in some very mediocre productions a sense of the elegant is not less apparent for the fact that the hands are frequently attached to miserably articulated bodies. A very telling example may be cited in the retable of a bishop saint in Bonson, the panel of St. George.<sup>58</sup> It might better be said that this was a common characteristic of a school rather than the property of a single painter.

What Mandach omitted in his discussion of the Coronation of the Virgin, and should have mentioned, is the organization of large forms robed in ample vestures by means of long curving lines formed by drapery edges or the silhouettes. Both in the central group of the Coronation and all through the Pietà, much of the spirit and formal organization is the product of these lines which add elegance and monumentality to the composition. However, the complete lack of expression in the features of the participants in the Coronation stands in sharp contrast to the subtle characterization of the Pietà. This is a failure of the Provençal paintings as a class; they seldom evince any depth or power of spirituality, the great and only thoroughgoing exception being, of course, the Avignon Pietà.

This characteristic may be most clearly evidenced in the Priest with Saint Adoring Christ in the Tomb, from Boulbon, now in the Louvre, in subject offering an almost equal opportunity for religious drama. As such it is entirely inadequate: the priest is a less vigorously conceived imitation of the Avignon Pietà donor, his expression that of timid adoration; the sainted bishop is shrewd and worldly. Neither in Christ nor in God the Father is there an approach to the high conception of the Avignon Pietà. Posterior to the latter it must surely be: the painting of the donor, both in features and in handling of the surplice, is very similar; but the grace and even physical beauty of Christ is quite absent; and the composition, although in extenuation it must be said that the work is degraded through injury, is very imperfect.

The evidence of relative dating has already been adduced against the participation of Froment in the Avignon Pietà. Nevertheless, there are distinct relationships mutually shared: a composition proceeding diagonally back into the picture, the use of a very similar jar of ointment in the Pietà and in Mary anointing Christ's feet, a similar method of handling drapery in the Virgin of the Burning Bush and the triad behind Christ, and the delicately painted ears with long lobes. The recurrence of the elegantly posed hands (mentioned already in the Coronation of the Virgin and the St. John of the Pietà) in the Gabriel of the Annunciation on the outside of the wings of the retable of the Burning Bush, however, emphasizes the characteristics of a region rather than proves a contact. The Hispano-Moresque jar, too, is of very frequent occurrence in art, even beyond the bounds of Provence, and may well have been a common object of export to that region from Spain. Beyond these details there is nothing to indicate that the painter of the Avignon Pietà preceded or followed Froment.

In still another famous work of the region, the Annunciation in the Musée Calvet, Avignon, the same elegantly posed hands and the Hispano-Moresque pottery appear. The

57. Mandach, *op. cit.*, p. 180.

58. Labande, *Les peintres niçois des XV<sup>e</sup> et XVI<sup>e</sup> siècles*, in *Gazette des beaux arts*, 1912, p. 296.

completely Renaissance architecture, however, makes a date late in the century imperative.

The resemblances noted to the four very different works, the Coronation of the Virgin, the Resurrection of Lazarus, the Altar of the Burning Bush, and the Annunciation of Avignon do no more than prove that the Pietà was in Provence sometime between 1450 and 1480, if the second of these dates approximates the year of the Annunciation of Avignon. Otherwise the results are barren. Whence came the little mannerisms which form a common link between these works? The Avignon Pietà has them all, and was, from evidence both in the region of Nice and in Spain, capable of exerting a molding influence on artists who saw it. Yet this is to deny the potential influence of such a substantial work as the Coronation of the Virgin, for it is possible that Enguerrand Charenton is the creator of the distinguishing mannerisms. Provisionally, a date earlier than the Coronation of the Virgin of 1453 and the Madonna of Mercy, ordered in 1452, is hard to imagine for the Pietà, and yet one can point to no certain internal evidence for this opinion on comparing all these paintings. The relations of the whole school must remain enigmatical until a more certain chronology prevails.

By a consideration of the Avignon Pietà on the grounds of both its iconography and style, a firmer foundation for future comparisons has been made. This is the positive function of the discussion to this point. Of a negative nature has been the destruction of other opinions, based too frequently on a study *in vacuo* of the great Pietà. The investigation cannot be abandoned at this point, however: the goal of understanding would then remain nearly as remote as before. To fill the hiatus in our information, critics will and must go on suggesting possible relations with other artists and other works. In time the results of such juxtapositions are fruitful. And they are peculiarly provocative of discussion, an injection of which into any static field of study is generally beneficial. In the case of Nuno Gonçalves whom this article proposes to relate to the Avignon Pietà, a more than ordinary stimulus is required to bring to the attention of the historians of art the most ignored of the great painters of the fifteenth century.

### III

There was no more vigorous nation in Europe in the fifteenth century than Portugal. Other states were more powerful and could have mustered armies capable of crushing Lusitania, and likewise other states were wealthier. Yet, of the countries of Europe it alone anticipated the tendencies culminating in Columbus's discovery of the New World; and even before Spain was unintelligently to rob the west of its wealth, Portugal had in a systematic manner begun a commercial exploitation of Africa. With distant exploration and trade came wealth and a widened outlook. Except for the comparative lack of a cultural background of high order, Portugal was in a position to rival even Flanders in the patronage of the arts. Did nothing come of this rich promise? Very little, it must be confessed, in the way of present day remains. For this several explanations can be brought forward: the disastrous earthquake of Lisbon in 1755; the absence of a powerful tradition; and finally and most important, the lack of thorough information even to-day on what Portugal contains, especially in the way of painting. What few examples have been published are of the highest quality, but on the fingers of one hand one can number all fifteenth century Portuguese paintings. It comes, then, as a great surprise to discover that the only recognized fifteenth century Portuguese master, Nuno Gonçalves, must be reckoned one of the greatest figures of the century in Europe, and that he is virtually unknown.

The information we possess about his life is very meager, but fortunately sufficient to



establish him as a definite personality. He is first mentioned on July 20, 1450, when he was made a painter to the King, Affonso V, with a salary of twelve thousand reis brancos a year. Two years later, April 6, 1452, the painter received an increase of pay. Beginning with July 17, 1454, we find mention of another painter to the king, João Anes, who shared the position with Gonçalves. Of his actual residence in Lisbon there is evidence that he was living in his own home in the Rua Metada, in the quarter then called the Vila Nova, in 1463. The last certain date is April 12, 1471, when Gonçalves superseded João Anes in certain works for the city of Lisbon.<sup>59</sup>

The possible date of his birth is, in some men's minds, governed by the pertinence of two notices of 1436 and 1439 respectively. In the earlier, a royal document gives to Gonçalves Nuno, a sculptor, a patent as master of royal works. In the later, a document signed by Affonso V confirms the privilege—there having been a change of kings shortly before—and definitely states that the man in question was a sculptor.<sup>60</sup> Ordinarily it is not thought that the sculptor and the painter were the same man; but Lafond in the *Gazette des beaux arts* points out, as a parallel case, that Rogier van der Weyden may have been a sculptor turned painter, which would give some credence to the idea.<sup>61</sup> Moreover, the heavily plastic feeling of the figures and their compact arrangement in space may indicate such an early training.

His birth must necessarily, at the latest, be assigned to the first decade of the fifteenth century if we are to accept the statement that he was made sculptor to the king in 1436. There is a particular reason for setting a fixed date for the birth of Nuno, namely, to determine his age when Jan van Eyck visited the country in 1428–1429. Figueiredo evidently believed that Nuno was perhaps an apprentice at the time, and in another place speaks as though Nuno had been born in the first decade of the century.<sup>62</sup> Mayer, on the other hand, gives him a rather late date of birth, c. 1420, although he does not assign any grounds for his opinion.<sup>63</sup> He evidently believes that Nuno is not the sculptor of whom notice is made in 1436 and again in 1439. By this chronology he seems to allow room for a career subsequent to the St. Vincent altars, usually dated 1458–1462, and even to the last recorded date, 1471. The earlier date, 1400–1410, suggested by Figueiredo would make suspect any works attributed to the 1470's and 1480's. Mayer by his late date would dispose of any question as to whether Jan van Eyck directly influenced the youthful Portuguese.

Critics are divided as to his training. There seems to have been no native school of painting which would have supplied him with the Flemish style and Flemish technique which he so deftly employed. Indeed, his masterpieces were the most thoroughly Flemish paintings south of the Alps and Pyrenees at the time of their creation, at least among extant works by surely native artists. Mayer suggests as his teacher an itinerant artist, familiar with the Van Eyck tradition of minute reproduction of detail and the Van Eyck manner of portraiture, and also related to the artistic background of Hugo van der Goes.<sup>64</sup> Bertaux saw in the extremely sculptural character of the modeling and in the fixed melancholy of the features the same spirit as that of Hugo, although he admitted that the discrepancies of date (we do not hear of Van der Goes until 1467 when he was matriculated) make it

59. Figueiredo, *L'art portugais de l'époque des grandes découvertes au XX<sup>e</sup> siècle*, p. 21. (The catalogue of the Portuguese Exhibition in Paris in 1931 is the most accessible and most compact authority, written by the only man who had done any serious work on Nuno.)

60. Raczyński, *Dictionnaire Historico-Artistique du Portugal*, Paris, 1847. Article, "Nuno Gonçalves."

61. Lafond, P., *La peinture portugaise au XV<sup>e</sup> siècle: Nuno Gonçalves*, in *Gazette des beaux arts*, 1911, I, p. 434.

62. Figueiredo, José de, *L'art au Portugal depuis le XV<sup>e</sup> siècle*, in *Gazette des beaux arts*, 1931, LXIX-LX, p. 80.

63. Mayer, August, *Nuno Gonçalves*, in *Monatshfte für Kunstwissenschaft*, 1913, p. 97.

64. *Ibid.*, p. 98.

difficult to establish a link.<sup>65</sup> In explanation of this apparent spiritual affinity to Van der Goes, might not the intensity of the countenances, at least, be explained on grounds of Nuno's autochthonous Iberian character? The angularity of some of the figures in the St. Vincent triptychs and the remote calm in which they dwell are reminiscent of Bouts, who is, however, more stolid in temperament.

Whatever may have been the relationships between Nuno Gonçalves and these mid-fifteenth century Flemish painters, it cannot be denied that a direct connection existed between the Portuguese master and the works of the Van Eycks. Even in Flanders there was no follower in the Van Eyck tradition who could render more meticulously, and phrase the touches of the brush more beautifully, than does Nuno in details of stuffs, metals, and armor. One has only to turn to the panel of the Archbishop (Fig. 16) for a confirmation of this. A comparison of the painting of the chain mail, the tassels, and the texture of the cloth is most readily had in the Bruges altarpiece by Jan van Eyck (Fig. 29). It is difficult to believe that such a profound knowledge could have been acquired in Portugal alone, in spite of the presence there of Van Eyck and possibly some of his works. For so thorough a demonstration of skill it is necessary to postulate a visit to the Netherlands and an acquaintance with Van Eyck's manner, gained in that master's shop or by a study of his painting as it existed in numerous examples throughout Flanders.

As a further complication, some of the heads in the St. Vincent altarpieces adopt an artistic stylization of the hair such as Rogier van der Weyden employed in his later portraits (Fig. 27). If Nuno visited Flanders, he would have enjoyed an opportunity of studying Rogier.

The separate influences upon Nuno, then, may be summed up in the statement that the whole Flemish tradition of the second quarter of the fifteenth century was utilized to form his style. To discover an artist who would have imparted all this information is beyond our powers. To believe that Nuno would have gained his knowledge outside the Netherlands through a study of the occasional Flemish paintings already at that time scattered abroad is to reject the more plausible theory that Nuno made his studies on the spot, in Bruges, Brussels, and throughout the Low Countries.

\* \* \*

The only authenticated works of Nuno are the pair of triptychs, now in the Museu Nacional de Bellas Artes, each representing a group of persons adoring St. Vincent, the patron of Portugal, who stands in their midst. The one in which the royal family of Portugal most prominently figures is called the triptych of the Infante, and the other in which the primate of Portugal is conspicuously present, the triptych of the Archbishop (Figs. 13 and 14).

They are believed to be the panels of which the sixteenth century art historian, Francisco de Hollanda, speaks as having seen in 1548 when he mentions the altar of St. Vincent in the cathedral of Lisbon as the work of Nuno Gonçalves.<sup>66</sup> When the paintings were cleaned at the beginning of this century, on the heel of the right foot of the king a monogram closely resembling the initial letter of Nuno's signature, which is attached to another document, came to light and definitely established the identity of the author.<sup>67</sup>

65. Bertaux, *Un maître portugais du XV<sup>e</sup> siècle, Nuno Gonçalves*, in *Gazette des beaux arts*, XXVIII, pp. 213 ff.

66. Francisco de Hollanda, *Da Pintura Antiqua*, in Ceán Bermúdez, *Diccionario Histórico de los profesores de las bellas-arts en España*, Madrid, 1800, II, p. 210: "Gonzales (Nuño), pintor del rey de Portugal D. Alonso. Pintó el altar de S. Vicente de la catedral de Lisboa, y un

Señor a la columna que está en una capilla del convento de la Trinidad de la misma ciudad. Sin haber estado en Italia, procuró imitar con corrección los buenos profesores de ella."

67. Figueiredo, José de, *O Pintor Nuno Gonçalves*, Lisbon, 1910, pp. 69-70.





FIG. 17—*Detail of Fig. 2*



FIG. 18—*Detail of Fig. 15; Position Reversed*



FIG. 19—*Detail of Fig. 15*



FIG. 20—*Detail of Fig. 15*



FIG. 21—*Panel of the Monks*



FIG. 22—*Panel of the Relics*



FIG. 23—*Panel of the Knights*

*Lisbon, National Museum Retable of St. Vincent, by Nuno Gonçalves; Wings*

The panels are ordinarily dated between 1458–1462.<sup>68</sup> These dates correspond with what little we know of his career from other sources. The earlier date is that of the taking of El Ksar es Seghir on October 23, 1458, in commemoration of which event the works seem to have been painted. The *terminus ante quem* is approximately 1465, a date based on the apparent ages of the royal family, the only members of the group who can with any certainty be identified. Even in 1458 the queen had been dead three years and in 1460 Prince Henry was to die, so that the work was probably done while the memory of them was still fresh. It is unlikely, moreover, that a work commemorating a special event would be commissioned long after the occasion which it celebrated, or that the contract would go uncompleted for many years.

Fortunately the panels were removed to the chapel of St. Vincent, Lisbon, previous to the destruction of the cathedral in the earthquake of 1755, where they had formerly stood. During the archbishopric of D. Fernando Vasconcellos e Menezes (1540–1569), they were retouched at his order, perhaps as the result of damage in the earthquake of 1531; and they were again repainted c. 1631, at the behest of the then-reigning king, Philip III. At the same time the two wings of each triptych were nailed together and the transitions made necessary by this alteration painted in.<sup>69</sup> Their true nature as Portuguese primitives was not recognized before 1895; but it was not until Dom José de Figueiredo arranged for their removal to the Archiepiscopal Museum and for their cleaning that their subject was recognized and Nuno's name associated with them. The modern cleaning seems to have been done with the greatest skill.<sup>70</sup>

Attempts have been made to identify nearly all the figures in the altars, with some reason, since they are all obviously portraits.<sup>71</sup> In the panel of the Infante (Fig. 15) around St. Vincent, the patron of Portugal, are King Affonso V, his son João, Prince Henry the Navigator, Affonso's dead queen Isabella, and her mother, Isabella of Aragon. The figures in the background are unknown, probably personages of the court, although Figueiredo wished to identify two of them at the upper left as the artist and his brother João. In the left wing, the panel of the Monks (Fig. 21), the foremost figure is probably Dom Vasco Tinoco, Grand Almoner. Among the others, it has been suggested that the bearded man is the foreign astrologer, Frei Luis. In the right wing, the panel of the Relics (Fig. 22), all the figures are unknown. The foremost man presents the principal of the two relics of St. Vincent, a piece of Vincent's skull, while a Jewish rabbi—one can tell by his dress and facial characteristics—opens a Jewish book, conjecturally the Talmud. It is difficult to explain the presence of a Jew within the work, occupying a place of honor amongst the royal family, numerous prelates and priests, and indeed in the very presence of the two

68. Figueiredo, *L'art portugais de l'époque des grandes découvertes au XX<sup>e</sup> siècle*, p. 21.

69. Figueiredo, *O Pintor Nuno Gonçalves*, pp. 35–41.

70. The technique of the triptychs is unusual in that there is no gesso base used for the painting. Oak panels were prepared by giving them a coat of brown varnish or oil; the sketch was made upon this and the painting then filled in. This method of application results in a broader manner from which the technique of washes is absent in great degree, since the sparkle that the basic white gesso gives to paint through which light strains down and is reflected back must be completely absent where there is no gesso. Colours applied, *à pleine pâte*, would have a richness and a paintlike quality such as is seen in later artists. Figueiredo compares it to the impressionism of Franz Hals.

The source of this, Figueiredo claims, is in a medieval

custom of painting in fresco *a secco* as practised in Galicia, examples of it being extant in Santiago de Compostela, and at the Portuguese church of Travança. It is, perhaps, a Portuguese peculiarity, but since there is no mention of earlier panels painted in the same manner, and something of a hint that Nuno rather got the idea from the frescoes than actually participated in a tradition which included this odd system, the whole idea may have been Nuno's and a completely personal, non-national one. The subsequent use of it strengthens it as a method in Portugal. (Cf. Lafond, *op. cit.*, I, 434; Figueiredo, *L'art au Portugal depuis le XV<sup>e</sup> siècle*, in *La revue de l'art ancien et moderne*, LIX–LX, II, p. 78.)

71. For discussion of the various personages, see Figueiredo, *O Pintor Nuno Gonçalves*, pp. 58–62, and *L'art portugais de l'époque des grandes découvertes au XX<sup>e</sup> siècle*, pp. 22–25.



most venerated of Portuguese relics. At the time of Affonso V the Jews enjoyed a large measure of civic freedom and were in this respect much better off than in many of the states of Europe, including Spain. Yet there are records of ordinances which expressly forbade them entering a place of Christian worship. It has been suggested that the man was the royal physician, a professional post not unprecedented in Europe, or the astrologer, and thus attached to the royal retinue.<sup>72</sup> More plausibly, some symbolic gesture hidden in the opening of the book would explain his presence in the gathering, especially in the prominent and significant position he occupies. Beside him a beggar stands before the coffin of St. Vincent, the other important relic of the patron saint. In the background are two priests in white surplices.

In the triptych of the Archbishop, the other half of the ensemble, the principal figure in the central panel (Fig. 16), to whom St. Vincent points, is the king's brother, Dom Fernando, balanced on the left by Admiral Rui de Melo. Behind the admiral is Dom Fernão d'Almada, second count of Avranches and the Great Captain of the Sea. The remaining two kneeling figures are, at the left, Dom Duarte d'Almeida, and at the right, Fernão Coutinho.

Behind the primary group of personages comes Archbishop Affonso Nogueira, represented full-face, the dominating countenance in the panel and the one from which the work receives its name. He is in the midst of the members of his chapter in their priestly robes. On less certain authority Affonso Madeira, the physician to the king, and the chronicler Gomez Eanes d'Azurara have been assigned places in the central panel by Figueiredo.

In the right wing, the panel of the Chevaliers (Fig. 23), as it is called, it is conjectured that the figures represented are Dom Affonso de Bragança in the front rank, a bastard of the royal line, his eldest son Dom Fernando, second Duke of Bragança and first Marquis of Vila-Viçosa, and above him, the third Duke of Bragança. Figueiredo somewhat questionably places the real hero of the battle which the panels commemorated as the next figure in this panel, the man in the casque, Dom Duarte de Menezes. Across the background are four surpliced ecclesiastics.

The left panel of this second triptych corresponds to the right of the other triptych in that both are symbolic or allegorical rather than historical in subject. This is the panel of the Fishermen, representing Portugal's interests at sea (Fig. 14). In the foreground is a daringly foreshortened figure kneeling in adoration, his features showing the mark of a sailor's disease, blepharitis, his hands fingering a rosary made of the vertebrae of fish. Three other men in the next plane, dressed similarly, are holding a net, the symbol of their trade. Figueiredo plausibly calls them three of the six founders of the Companhia de Lagos, created through the initiative of Henry the Navigator for the exploitation of maritime discoveries. All three are of noble birth, but here are dressed as fishermen. The three other founders are thought to be the final figures completing the panel.

In discussion of the stylistic character of the two triptychs, to prevent repetition because of the close general similarity, attention will be concentrated on the triptych of the Infante (Fig. 13), with references to the other triptych when variations demand attention. As works of art they have been so neglected that the rather lengthy consideration of their style may be in place here where it would be superfluous in the case of better known artists.

In spite of the large number of figures included in the triptych of the Infante, there is curiously no confusion, the relationships in space of one figure to another being at all times clearly defined, a tribute to the painter faced by a situation which no artist had ever faced

72. Figueiredo, *O Pintor Nuno Gonçalves*, pp. 58-61.

before in the history of Christian art. Never had such a demand been made upon a painter as the inclusion of over fifty portraits: the problem of portraiture that befell the Van Eycks in the wings of the Adoration of the Lamb offers the only precedent, but is, at the same time, mere child's play compared to the task assigned to the Portuguese painter.

Spatially, the three sections of the triptych are linked together and must be considered part of a single scene of which St. Vincent is the focus, around whom in a semicircle are grouped his worshipers. When the composition is considered three-dimensionally, the group of the royal family in the central panel forms an inner, more hallowed circle about the imposing figure of the saint, who stands as a hub from which widening circles give organization and dimension to the group. The drapery of the queen, lying in a large fold on the floor, completes the circular motion of the inner group. In two-dimensional pattern, the saint stands in a kind of mandorla of heads.

In the background of the central panel there are eleven heads, so varied in scale as they diminish into the background, so varied in direction of glance, that monotony is avoided with almost complete success; and any tendency to this because of the near isocephalism is dissipated by the astonishing technical and psychological mastery to which each head is a witness.

In the matter of perspective the artist shows himself rather surprisingly naïve, the lines of the tiles upon the floors varying considerably in the vanishing points of the central and side panels respectively. As in the paintings of Flemings of his period, the perspective is also a little too steep. Nor is he an absolute master of foreshortening: the prostrate fisherman is more witness to a good intention than an example of its realization. As a general rule, within the circumscribed limits of subject, he shows a mastery of the figure of the highest order, as in the kneeling figure of the panel of the Relics, but in both the kneeling king and his brother the same anatomical difficulty is encountered as in the Dürer engraving of the Prodigal Son. If Dürer should have failed at the end, Nuno's failure is more understandable in the middle of the century. Finally in matters of lighting, Nuno stands revealed as one of the most ingenious spirits of the fifteenth century. Where the Flemings had been content with a single source of light, not too consistently maintained throughout the picture, Nuno employed two separate sources, the one slightly removed from the other, so that in every general shadow there is both an area of complete shade and two areas of penumbra. It would be very difficult to point to a similar usage in contemporary painting. Taking his cue from Flemish art, Nuno, for reasons unknown, has produced a fanciful variation entirely his own. Perhaps its use has reference to some peculiar situation which the paintings occupied. It may be that the practice is a product of the scientific interest in navigation and geography aroused by Henry the Navigator's preoccupation with the maritime route to India. The double source of light is also employed in the panels associated with Nuno on the basis of style.

Proceeding to details, we discover that one of the prime interests in the painting, and one of the means by which the artist has clearly individualized the figures, is his subtle feeling for textiles in innumerable varieties, painted with the most careful differentiation. The stiffly gorgeous silk and gold dalmatic of St. Vincent brings his figure prominently to attention, this distinction in material serving to isolate the saint from the personages gathered around him, thus making him the focus of attraction as well as the actual center of the composition. A wonderful display of Nuno's talent in this regard is the triptych of the Infante, where the velvet of the queen's train, the stiff coat of the king, the heavy woolen garments of the monks in the left panel and the somewhat lighter fabrics of the

man displaying the relic of St. Vincent almost run the gamut of possible variation. The subtlest differences both in creases and in reflection of light are perceptible in what is one of the most thorough demonstrations of the realistic northern point of view. At the same time, the exhibition is not wasted; the variety so obtained does much to prevent monotony and adds to the richness of effect. This feeling for texture of materials is even seen in the treatment of the parchment pages of the two books. Showing equally brilliant reporting are the numerous suits of Milanese armor, the spears, swords, and the coil of rope placed in the foreground of the triptych of the Archbishop. It is in these particulars that Nuno most clearly reveals direct contact with Flemish art, and among its practitioners there is no man who can surpass him in such matters of technical proficiency.

The dominating note of the entire triptych is one of solemn and at times almost dour sincerity (Fig. 15). All the faces have expression; but though all are individuals, as a group they have the same serious and solemn attitude. The lips are tightly pursed, the jaws firm, the eyes small, dark, and concentrated to the full on the one image as the mind seems to be on one thought. There is neither joy nor sorrow, for that matter, but the result is not stolidity. It is the intense, unsmiling religious ardor of the Iberians which is familiar to those acquainted with the best works of Spanish art. One thinks of Canon George van der Paele (Fig. 29); but there will always remain in this painting just a shadow of the feeling of intrusion, of disharmony between the worshiper and the object worshiped, a situation which is perfectly resolved in the Nuno panels, although the inclusion of such heterogeneous elements as beggars, rabbis, and fishermen, might in other circumstances strain the psychic unity of the scene.

The most striking element of all in the triptych is the artist's ability as a portraitist. Although one may correctly say that there is a certain family resemblance among the numerous personages, all are defined as distinct individuals. A similar mutual resemblance is found in the work of portraitists contemporary with Nuno. In addition, to foreign eyes, the markedly Iberian cast of countenance common to the whole group tends to obscure the traits of individuality which the single heads betray. As portraits they are in the very forefront of fifteenth century painting, on a par, indeed, with the best by Jan van Eyck, Rogier, or Bouts. They spring, of course, from that northern tradition; but fundamentally they are constructed in a manner distinct from the Flemish portraits. The bony structure of the heads is already present in Flemish painting; but nowhere in Flanders is there, as in Nuno, the abstraction of the planes of the face to the essential ones, producing a sculptural simplicity of surface organization emphasizing solidity. To accomplish this the brush strokes are laid on in a broad and free manner, calculated to give a general effect rather than a minute catalogue of accidental distinctions (Fig. 18).

This is true of the majority of the portraits, and especially those in the rear of the group: among the central figures the painting has been done with much more care to hide individual brush strokes. Perhaps the disparity between the portraits of the royal family and the remainder is explained by the greater pains an artist might expend on the images of his royal patrons. The system has also the effect, although to what extent it was pre-arranged is uncertain, of concentrating the attention on the most important personages in the composition. Modern taste frequently considers the remote and more sketchily painted heads the more attractive: a medieval aesthetic which rated so highly the microscopic detail and high finish of the works of Jan van Eyck must have considered on the contrary the foremost portraits as the more satisfactory. At any rate, it is hardly with the beginnings of impressionism as a method of organization that we have to do. It is an im-





FIG. 24—Berlin, Kaiser Friedrich Museum: *Pietà*, by  
Jacopo Sellaio



FIG. 25—Lisbon, National Museum: *St. Theotimus*, by Nuno Gonçalves (?)



FIG. 26—Lisbon, National Museum  
*Youth Bound to a Column*, by  
 Nuno Gonçalves (?)



FIG. 27—Brussels, Musée Ancien: *Portrait*, by  
 Rogier van der Weyden



FIG. 28—Detail of Fig. 16; *Position  
 Reversed*

pressionism demanded by expediency rather than born of the nature of the times. If more were known of the circumstances behind the creation of the two triptychs, the reason for the swift handling of many of the portraits might be explained. Or, it may be that a technique gave rise to this broad method of painting: knowledge of other Portuguese paintings must be gained before a partial answer to this phase of the problem can be given.

Worthy of passing mention, also, are the hands. They most resemble the hands of Rogier van der Weyden, the fingers long and thin, and expressive of the same aristocracy that El Greco puts in his figures. They are by no means mannered in their poses and are even somewhat formal and stiff, but they are always in harmony with the sentiment of the scene where asceticism, aristocracy, and a lean physical fitness mingle.

The hair, as in Rogier's portraits, is organized along the forehead in a series of rhythmic curves. Excellent examples of this practice are to be noticed in the head of the man at the right of St. Vincent in the central panel of the triptych of the Infante and in the head of the personage at the very right-hand corner of the same panel, perhaps the most extreme instance of the impressionistic method of Nuno (Figs. 18, 20, 27, and 28).

There is also the question whether any other works may be assigned to Nuno on stylistic grounds. On the basis of photographic comparison there is good reason to consider the few relics of Portuguese fifteenth century painting at least in his manner and, possibly, by his hand. These are only three in number, a pair of panels, one dedicated to St. Francis and other to St. Theotinus; and a Youth Bound to a Column. All are in the Lisbon Gallery.

The St. Francis Adoring a Crucifix (Fig. 1) is, spiritually, the most effective of these three works. In the fierce concentration of the eyes of the saint, the same spirit which infuses the authenticated triptychs is seen again. The modeling of the Christ upon the Cross is firm, the features of the monk are plastically conceived, and the general air of monumentality, so markedly a feature of the St. Vincent panels, is again observable. The handling of the draperies is slightly mechanical, a fault insufficient to damage an attribution to Gonçalves himself.

The St. Theotinus (Fig. 25), having as it does the same background and size, must patently come from the same altarpiece as the St. Francis. This is an even grimmer representation of holiness, the mitred saint glowering out at the spectator. It too must be included in the art of Nuno Gonçalves. Both panels, incidentally, show the same preoccupation with problems of lighting, here productive of clearly defined and rather dark shadows.

The remaining panel, the Youth Bound to a Column (Fig. 26), presents a minor problem in iconography. If St. Sebastian is here represented, the arrows of his martyrdom are mysteriously absent, and the indications of his wounds are likewise omitted. Francisco de Hollanda in 1548 describes a Christ at the Column in a chapel of the Convent of the Trinity in Lisbon as the work of Nuno.<sup>73</sup> It may be that this panel is a reflection of that original, if not the very painting in question. The objection to a beardless Christ is sufficient to destroy this supposition, although it is conceivable that Francisco de Hollanda mistook the subject of the painting in the convent.

The matter of iconography is unimportant, however, compared to that of style. The spectator is confronted with a youthful body of idealized proportions, vibrant with a lean muscularity, and painted, for the most part, with an appreciation of the beauty of the human body foreign to painters trained in the northern tradition. Italy, undoubtedly, must be the source of this influence, although it is stated specifically that Nuno never visited that country.<sup>73</sup> The torso is especially indicative of a study of the human form, although

73. Cf. note 66 above.



below the knees there is a degeneration in the quality of anatomy. This perhaps indicates the northern-trained artist who still retains such realistic details as the veining of the feet while failing to indicate the weight of the body carried on the lower members, which seem rather to hover above the tiled floor.

This painting is closely associated with the St. Francis panel, and ultimately, therefore, with the St. Vincent triptychs. The languid melancholy of St. Vincent is repeated here in the face of the youth, the structure of whose features is even more like the St. Francis. The modeling of the body, with a tendency to use lighting somewhat arbitrarily to indicate musculature, is a repetition on a larger scale of the crucified Christ, itself no mean indication of the artist's anatomical knowledge. The mannerism of an umbra and penumbra, discussed in connection with the St. Vincent panels, recurs here, the column casting this peculiar kind of shadow. The extreme simplicity of the architectural setting, with an almost classic severity of moldings, is comparable to plain backgrounds elsewhere the case in Nuno's art. In short, these three subsidiary works, the Sts. Francis and Theotinus, and the Youth Bound to a Column, are so closely identified with the style of Nuno that any consideration of his total work must include them as certainly in his manner.

On evidence of style alone, and without the assisting circumstance of always having been in Portugal or Spain, both the Man with a Wineglass, in the Louvre, and the Portrait of 1456, in the Liechtenstein collection, have been assigned to Gonçalves.<sup>74</sup> The resemblance, partly one of costume and therefore unreliable, between the portraits of Prince Henry the Navigator in the St. Vincent retable and the two portraits above-mentioned convinced Reinach of the justness of the attribution. In the case of the Paris painting there is a lack of characterization completely foreign to Nuno, who never slipped to mere delineation of physical characteristics. The Liechtenstein work is technically closer to the Portuguese painter in that the manner of the painting is broader; but it, too, has not the force of its supposed master.

Finally there is the miniature portrait of Prince Henry the Navigator, in the Chronicle of the Discovery of Guiana, a manuscript which is no later than 1453 (Fig. 32).<sup>75</sup> Since the heads of Henry in this frontispiece and in the retable by Nuno are virtually identical, it must be concluded that they have some common basis. Nuno may have copied from this earlier portrait when he painted his retables c. 1460, or the miniature was perhaps added later when the book had already been completed some years, on the basis of the portrait in the triptych of the Infante. A final possibility is that the same cartoon was used as a basis for both. Some ground for the belief that the panel painter copied the miniaturist is found in the fact that Prince Henry died in 1460 within two years of the earliest assignable date for the two St. Vincent altars, and perhaps before they were actually undertaken. Some earlier likeness of Prince Henry would then be an invaluable guide, such as this miniature would offer. On the other hand, it is difficult to believe that a court painter who must have already painted portraits of the court's most distinguished members would not have had on hand a cartoon. This would be available for the miniaturist as well, whether or not Nuno executed the two almost identical representations of Prince Henry. It is known definitely that at least one other of the heads in the royal group is a posthumous likeness, that of Queen Isabella, wife of Affonso V, who had died in 1455.

74. Reinach, S., *L'homme au verre de vin*, in *Revue archéologique*, 1910, II, pp. 236-242.

75. Perls, Klaus, *Portrait inconnu*, in *L'Amour de l'art* 1935, pp. 313 ff.

## IV

The stylistic similarities between the Avignon Pietà and the two triptychs by Nuno Gonçalves are so conspicuous that the latter work must be taken seriously into a consideration of the problem of the origin of the great Pietà.

The comparison between the two works is a difficult one, by reason of a possible disparity of date admitting of a change in style and because of the difference in the subjects. Of a reconciliation of the respective chronologies of the St. Vincent triptychs and the Avignon Pietà something will be said later. The subject matter of the latter, limited as it is to five figures only, results in a very different problem of arrangement from that which confronted Gonçalves in his two triptychs, where he must have been enjoined positively to include all the numerous heads which the composition contains. Especially since there was no known precedent to guide him he was confronted with a much more difficult problem of composition than was the case in the Avignon Pietà. If Nuno was not completely successful in the result, yet it cannot be said that the work possesses monotony; and by the numerous planes introduced into the composition the many figures are set definitely in space with a minimum of crowding. His organization of the figures in circles in space has already been described, and the many other stratagems he employed to surmount the obstacles. The at-first-sight wide divergency between the compositions of the two works leads casual observers to the conclusion that Nuno was unimaginative in his method of organization compared to the author of the Avignon Pietà. Such is not the case: the demands on Nuno were much greater. It took almost two centuries before the group painting became thoroughly mastered as a means of artistic expression. At the same time, the composition of the Avignon Pietà, like that of the St. Vincent panels, is ordered and monumental, its component parts organized in a shallow but, in the matter of space, clearly appreciable foreground.

It is rather in the handling of the heads that the most striking similarities are apparent. One may compare the head of the donor in the Pietà with any of the numerous male portraits in the triptych and find not only the same formal peculiarities but also a similar intense psychic feeling. If, for example, we compare the head of the donor with the last head on the right in the background of the triptych of the Infante, we are immediately struck by the similarity (Figs. 17 and 18). In both cases the heads are solid and blocky in appearance; the skin has a similar leathery quality, especially in the loose folds of skin in the neck. From the beady eyes comes a glint expressive of the intensity of the man. The handling of the shading under the eyes and the chiaroscuro in the whole face is the same in both. Even the peculiarly long ear lobes of the donor are repeated again and again in the heads in both triptychs, a mannerism traced more to the artist's whim than to any physical oddity of the Portuguese people. That the drawing of the ear is one of the most markedly individual features of an artist's style has been long known, and in this case the long ear lobe seems to be one of Nuno's idiosyncrasies. Even more noticeable is the firm jaw and pursed lips of the donor, a feature exactly paralleled in every portrait in the St. Vincent panels. A further mannerism appears in the treatment of the hair of the donor, with a rhythmic repetition of the locks as they fall on the forehead. This detail, too, is repeated in several of the heads by Nuno (Figs. 17 and 18).

It is not in details of this nature alone that similarities between the portraits and the donor's head are traceable. Still more striking is the close agreement in the manner of painting in each case. The conception of the head as a whole, expressed technically in the

broad brush strokes, at the same time eliminates details and conveys a suggestion of essential reality. This ideal abstraction of appearance heightening the portrait quality of the head characterizes both the clerical donor and the personages of the St. Vincent triptychs. Elsewhere in northern art in the fifteenth century such an emphasis on volume and elimination of detail is not to be found. Rather, the careful transition of one plane into the next is always stressed. It cannot be doubted that the immediacy and vitality of Nuno's portraits and the quality of freshness which one receives from them is due to the broad conception and the elimination of accidental details; and in the same degree it is true of the donor in the Avignon Pietà. A comparison of the latter with portrait heads in any of the other Provençal works clearly demonstrates how unique is this conception.

It is impossible, then, with so many points of comparison, to dismiss the general similarity as fortuitous. Nor is it enough to postulate merely similar antecedents. So thoroughly have the Flemish elements which have gone to form the style of Nuno been assimilated that we cannot point to any single master from whom he may have derived them all. And the same may be said of the painter of the Avignon Pietà. Let us re-enforce a comparison of one head in the triptychs and the donor in the Pietà with the fact that virtually all the heads bear the same family resemblance. One might stand the donor in the company of personages at the rear of either of the central panels and not feel the least incongruity.

In a slightly less degree the analogies to the triptychs extend throughout the Avignon Pietà. The unusual conception of the head of the Magdalene, reduced in an almost modern way to a cylindrical shape with nearly complete elimination of detail, may be paralleled in the head of the young Crown Prince and the two versions of St. Vincent himself. In each case the simplification has been carried almost to the point of abstraction, in complete contrast to the highly individualized features found in most of the other countenances. The preference for an ideal rather than a naturalistic cast of countenance for the Christ, Mary, and other saints is characteristic of both Nuno and the master of the Avignon Pietà. The Lisbon panel of St. Francis Adoring a Crucifix, already discussed (Fig. 1), is a work very similar in quality and style. The Crucifix offers an opportunity for comparison, in the treatment of the nude body and face, with the dead Christ in the Pietà. Unfortunately, the position of the two bodies is not the same. Nevertheless, both show about the same degree of idealization and a robust and somewhat elongated canon of proportion. The general tendencies in Pietàs, inherited from a desire to liken the Christ now in His Mother's lap to the Child who once lay there, is to represent Christ dwarfed in comparison with the Virgin. This tendency, which had continued in spite of increasing naturalism, completely disappears in the Avignon Pietà, which displays an almost Italian admiration for the human body. The same is true of the crucified Christ of the St. Francis Adoring a Crucifix. The facial type in the avowedly Portuguese work parallels that of the Virgin and Christ. The difference in scale, possibly the intermediate influence of a close follower, and the variation in position of the two bodies make this an argument of value only in conjunction with other more striking similarities.

It is difficult to find a close parallel for the highly individual conception of the head of St. John the Evangelist in the Pietà. The nearest analogy is the head of Queen Isabella, which has the same thin, aristocratic nose and arched eyebrows.

In the treatment of the drapery the most prominent similarity is the heavily puckered fold of the white garment showing beneath the body of Christ and the exactly similar treatment of the alb of St. Vincent where it appears beneath his dalmatic. This passage which is unique in quality in the Pietà is the one that bears a marked resemblance to part





FIG. 29—Bruges, Musée Commune: *Altar of Canon van der Paele*, by Jan van Eyck



FIG. 30—Detail of Fig. 15



FIG. 31—Detail of Fig. 12



FIG. 32—Paris, Bibl. Nationale: Prince Henry the Navigator; MS. portugais 41



FIG. 33—Archbishop Affonso Nogueira; Detail of Fig. 16

of the garment of the Sto. Domingo de Silos by Bermejo in Madrid (Fig. 12). It has already been noticed that Nuno is both careful and competent in differentiating types of folds and creases according to the nature of the material represented. The same is true of the painter of the Avignon Pietà. This perhaps accounts for the lack of detailed similarities, although it reveals a common aesthetic attitude, and when the same material in the two works brings the same results, the relationship is all the more striking. In practice this makes for the great difference between the donor's fine robe and the heavy white wool garb of the monks in Nuno's altarpiece.

The Iberian quality of the Avignon Pietà has often been noted in contrast to the rather spiritless productions of the rest of Provence. Not only Sanpere, a rather biased observer, but also Hulin de Loo and Bertaux have noticed this.<sup>76</sup> Specific factors in this opinion are: the gold background, the Hispano-Moresque cup, the oriental city in the offing, and the intensity of the religious expression. The first two items may reflect Spanish influence; but at the same time the gold background was regularly employed in Provençal and Niçois Pietàs, as the Tarascon panel (Fig. 9) and the Brea altar of 1475 (Fig. 10) witness. The Hispano-Moresque ware appears frequently in Provençal works. The Resurrection of Lazarus by Froment—painted in Italy where it seems unlikely that he would have carried a model—and the Avignon Annunciation contain examples of this pottery. More difficult to explain is the oriental city in the background at the left. The conception is definitely reminiscent of a Moorish city and must have been based on actual knowledge of such architecture. Such knowledge was easily obtained by anyone who had lived in southern Spain or Portugal. The buildings are far more accurate than the ordinary fanciful structures representing Jerusalem seen in Flemish paintings, in that they are directly reminiscent of oriental architecture. If the "amphitheatre" in the background is not actually the ground for the gold showing through, it would not have been impossible to have seen such ruins either in France or Spain. An examination of this spot convinces the present writers that it actually represents a building and is not accidental.

Lastly, the Iberian intensity cannot be matched in Provence. It stands quite within the realm of possibility that a Spanish or Portuguese master painted the Pietà; and, spiritually, the triptychs of St. Vincent are conceived on as high a level of religious expression.

There is no chronological difficulty in the way of assigning to Nuno some share in the work or at least some governing influence on an unknown artist who painted the Avignon Pietà. Nuno is mentioned sporadically at the Portuguese court from 1450–1471, but the gaps are so great that at any time during this period he could have paid a visit to Provence. It is not known when he was born, but even if we suppose that he was old enough to have been influenced by Jan van Eyck through contact with him in Portugal, it is not impossible to conceive of another decade's work after the last mention of him in 1471. If, as it seems clear from considerations of style and from the other evidence examined in the paper, the Avignon Pietà was painted c. 1475, Nuno's career was certainly not too remote chronologically to prevent him from having had a connection with it.

The mere fact that a Portuguese should find employment in distant Provence is no stumbling-block, for Provençal painters had always been a cosmopolitan group. There is mention of two Spaniards in Provence in 1476, as well as scattered notices through three centuries of their presence in southern France.<sup>77</sup> It is not unlikely that the expression

76. Labande, *Les primitifs français*, I, p. 195.

77. Sanpere y Miquel, *Los cuatrocentistas catalanes*, Barcelona, 1906, II, p. 84.



"Spaniard" included the few Portuguese who might enter the region. By a perhaps significant coincidence, in the same year, 1476, Affonso V with a considerable retinue went to France to seek the aid of Louis XI in the war Affonso was waging with Ferdinand of Aragon.<sup>78</sup> The Portuguese king landed at Marseilles, and after a circuitous passage through Provence and southern France reached Louis' court at Tours. It would not have been at all surprising if Nuno had been a member of the entourage, although the last mention of him is in 1471. As the *terminus ante quem* for the Avignon Pietà is 1475, it could not have been at this time that Nuno's influence was introduced into Provence; but this state visit must not have been the sole occasion for close relations between France and Portugal. That Nuno may previously have visited the former country, perhaps even after the fashion of the diplomatic journeys of Jan van Eyck, Dalmáu, or Rubens, is entirely possible. A further study of the source material connected with the commercial and diplomatic history of the two countries may throw more light on the problem.

To canvass every possibility, the painting for all its size might have been sent to Provence. As possible parallels we may witness the Portinari altar, or the Danzig altarpiece of Memling whose voyagings were accidentally rather than intentionally made short. Portugal was fast becoming a maritime nation, well able to ship the panel around by sea rather than entrust it by a carrier across a troubled and wild Spain. This is a remote explanation at best, and one hardly likely, since all the evidence of paintings such as the Coronation of the Virgin and the Madonna della Misericordia, both earlier works, goes to prove that there were definite Provençal traits which the master of the Avignon Pietà acquired. These could not have been obtained in a place as distant as Portugal. It is preferable to conclude that the work was painted in southern France.

\* \* \*

There are, then, no physical difficulties confronting the theory that Nuno Gonçalves is to be closely related to the Avignon Pietà. Of a more positive nature is the internal evidence, the very close similarity in portraiture, both in the general impression and the delineation of detail, the profound religious spirit which both exhibit, the markedly Iberian strain tangibly apparent in each, and the numerous minor similarities that the two share, which, when amassed, form a substantial body of evidence in favor of the theory. Whether Nuno's participation was immediate, or whether through some pupil or follower the gleam of his powerful style is seen, remains a question impossible of present answer. We feel sure, however, that the answer will not come through the study of French painting alone: the solution will follow only after a more thorough investigation of the rich possibilities of Portuguese painting.

78. Sterling, C., *La peinture française, les primitifs*, Paris, 1938, p. 87.

## APPENDIX A

### A LIST OF FRENCH SCULPTURED AND PAINTED PIETÀS

In the following list, where photographs of the sculpture or painting were to be had, the group to which the monument belongs iconographically is indicated. The reference is to the literary notice.

With the exception of the classification termed in this article the "Avignon Pietà type," the groupings adopted for the German Vesperbild—and found wherever the Pietà had spread—have been followed. These are named the "Sitz" (Fig. 5), the "Ruhelage" (Fig. 6),

the "Gleitlage" (Fig. 7), and the "Bodenlage" types, in the last of which Christ is resting almost entirely on the ground. An intermediate "Gleitlage-Bodenlage" group is also distinguished, an example of which is Fig. 8. Since in the period, 1450-1500, the increased artistic originality of the times was productive of an intermixture of types, an exact definition is sometimes impossible.

#### Sculpture

1. Aigueperse (Auvergne); Mâle, E., *L'art religieux de la fin du moyen âge en France*, Paris, 1908, p. 128.
2. Angers (Maine-et-Loire), église du Roncéray; an amelioration of the Ruhelage type; photograph, Marburg, 45327.
3. Arnay-le-Duc (Côte-d'Or); Gleitlage with the variation found elsewhere in Burgundy of the Virgin with her legs loosely crossed, David, H., *De Sluter à Sambin*, Paris, 1932, p. 134.
4. Aubazine (Corrèze); Gleitlage.
5. Autrèche (Indre-et-Loire); Avignon Pietà type; Mandach, C. de, *Un atelier provençal du XV<sup>e</sup> siècle*, in *Monuments Piot*, XVI, p. 147.
6. Auxonne (Côte-d'Or), l'Hôpital; David, *op. cit.*, pp. 66-67.
7. Avignon (Vaucluse), Musée Calvet; Avignon Pietà; Mandach, *op. cit.*, p. 171.
8. Bayel (Indre-et-Loire); Gleitlage-Bodenlage; Mâle, *op. cit.*, pp. 124-125.
9. Beaune (Côte-d'Or), Notre-dame; David, *op. cit.*, pp. 68-69.
10. Boston, Museum of Fine Arts; a revived fourteenth century seated type of Pietà; *Bulletin, Museum of Fine Arts*, April, 1919.
11. Brantigny; Gleitlage; Mâle, *op. cit.*, p. 126.
12. Carcassonne (Aude), St.-Nazaire; Gleitlage; Gardner, P., *Medieval Sculpture in France*, Cambridge, 1931, pp. 427-428.
13. Chalon-sur-Saône (Saône-et-Loire), l'Hôpital; Gleitlage; Aubert, M., *La richesse de l'art français*, I, pl. 170, and Mâle, *op. cit.*, p. 126.
14. Chaumont; Gleitlage; photograph, Fogg Museum of Art, Cambridge, Massachusetts.
15. Cunault; Gleitlage; photograph, Fogg Museum of Art.
16. Dierre (Indre-et-Loire); Gleitlage; Vitry, P., *Michel Colombe et la sculpture française de son temps*, Paris, 1901, p. 64.
17. Dijon (Côte-d'Or), rue de Tillot; Gleitlage; David, *op. cit.*, p. 25.
18. Dijon (Côte-d'Or), Museum; Gleitlage; David, *op. cit.*, p. 26.
19. Époisses (Côte-d'Or); Avignon Pietà; David, *op. cit.*, pp. 131-133.
20. Evron (Mayenne); Vitry, *op. cit.*, p. 135.
21. Frankfurt am Main, Liebighaus; Gleitlage; Troescher, *Claus Sluter*, Freiberg im Breisgau, 1932, pp. 62-65 and pl. XI.
22. Gomméville (Côte-d'Or); David, *op. cit.*, p. 135.
23. Jailly (Côte-d'Or); Mâle, *op. cit.*, p. 128.
24. Joigny (Yonne), St.-André; Gleitlage; Aubert, *op. cit.*, I, pl. 107.
25. Langres (Haute-Loire), Musée; Bodenlage; photograph, Marburg, 39595.
26. Lavaudieu (Haute-Loire); Avignon Pietà; photograph, Marburg, 39615.
27. Le Mans (Sarthe), Musée Archéologique; Gleitlage-Bodenlage; photograph, Marburg, 47602.
28. Le Mans (Sarthe), Musée Archéologique; Avignon Pietà; photograph, Marburg, 47603.
29. Les Noé (Aube), Mâle, *op. cit.*, p. 126.
30. Lisieux (Calvados), Cathedral; Gleitlage; Michel, E., *Histoire de l'art*, III, 1, p. 420.
31. London, Victoria and Albert Museum; Gleitlage; Koechlin, *Les ivoires gothiques, françaises*, Paris, 1924, III, pl. CLXI.
32. Luynes (Bouches-du-Rhône); Vitry, *op. cit.*, p. 30.
33. Marolles-les-Baillys; Mâle, *op. cit.*, p. 128.
34. Mello (Oise); Bodenlage; photograph, F.M.S. 2213.
35. Moitier-d'Ahun (Creuse); Avignon Pietà; Mâle, *op. cit.*, p. 128.
36. Moissac (Tarn-et-Garonne); Gleitlage; Mâle, *op. cit.*, p. 123; photograph, Marburg, 30825.
37. Monestir (Tarn); Avignon Pietà; photograph, Fogg Museum of Art.
38. Mussy-sur-Seine (Aube); Gleitlage-Bodenlage; Mâle, *op. cit.*, p. 125.
39. Neuville-lès-Decise (Nièvre); Mâle, *op. cit.*, p. 126.
40. Nuits-St. George (Côte-d'Or), private collection; Gleitlage-Bodenlage; David, *op. cit.*, p. 68.
41. Pouilly-en-Auxois (Côte-d'Or), Notre-Dame; Gleitlage; David, *op. cit.*, p. 135.
42. Prémercy (Nièvre); Gleitlage; Michel, *op. cit.*, IV, 2, p. 589.
43. Provins (Seine-et-Marne), St.-Aoul; Mâle, *op. cit.*, p. 128.
44. Recez-sur-Ource (Côte-d'Or); Avignon Pietà; David, *op. cit.*, p. 132.
45. Saffres (Côte-d'Or); Avignon Pietà; David, *op. cit.*, pp. 135-136.
46. St.-Aventin (Aube); Gleitlage; Mâle, *op. cit.*, p. 126.
47. St.-Martin-sur-Ouanne (Yonne); Bodenlage; David, *op. cit.*, p. 66.
48. St.-Menoux; Gleitlage; photograph, Marburg, 41667.
49. St.-Phal; Gleitlage-Bodenlage; Michel, *op. cit.*, IV, 2, p. 590.
50. St.-Pierre-le-Moutier (Nièvre); Avignon Pietà; David, *op. cit.*, p. 67.
51. Solesmes (Sarthe); Gleitlage; Vitry, *op. cit.*, p. 65.
52. Talant (Côte-d'Or); Avignon Pietà; David, *op. cit.*, p. 67.
53. Ternant (Nièvre); Mâle, *op. cit.*, p. 128.
54. Thoisy-le-Désert (Côte-d'Or); David, *op. cit.*, p. 69.
55. Toulouse (Haute-Garonne), Musée; Avignon Pietà; Gardner, *op. cit.*, pp. 427-428.
56. Tréport (Seine-inférieure); Mâle, *op. cit.*, p. 128.
57. Troyes (Aube), St.-Jean; David, *op. cit.*, p. 136.
58. Troyes (Aube), St.-Nizier; Gleitlage; Mâle, *op. cit.*, p. 126.
59. Vendôme (Loir-et-Cher), Cathedral; Vitry, *op. cit.*, p. 252.
60. Vernou (Indre-et-Loire); Gleitlage-Bodenlage; Mâle, *op. cit.*, p. 123 and Vitry, *op. cit.*, p. 84.

#### Painting

61. Bordeaux, Musée Municipal; Gleitlage; photograph, Fogg Museum of Art.
62. Boston, Fenway Court; Avignon Pietà; *General Catalogue, the Isabella Stewart Gardner Museum*, Boston, 1935, p. 242 (enamel).
63. Cimiez (Alpes-maritimes); Avignon Pietà; Labande, L. H., *Les Brea*, Nice, 1937, pp. 24-31.
64. Hartford (Connecticut), Athenaeum; Gleitlage; *Bulletin, Hartford Athenaeum*, April, 1929.
65. Herbisce (Aube); Gleitlage; Mâle, *op. cit.*, p. 122 (glass).
66. Le Mans (Sarthe), Musée des Arts; Gleitlage-Bodenlage; museum catalogue.

67. Longpré (Aube); Gleitlage; Mâle, *op. cit.*, p. 122 (glass).
68. Monaco, Cathedral, Retable of Curé Teste, L. Brea; Avignon Pietà; Labande, *op. cit.*, pp. 72-74.
69. New York, Frick collection; Bodenlage; Guiffrey, *Notes sur deux tableaux anonymes*, in *Mélanges Hulin de Loo*, Brussels, 1931, pp. 204-207, and Labande, *Les primitifs français. Peintres et peintres-verriers de la Provence occidentale*, Marseilles, 1932, I, pp. 219-220.
70. Nice (Alpes-maritimes), St.-Martin; Gleitlage; Labande, *Les Brea*, pp. 131-132.
71. Paris, Bibliothèque Mazarine, ms. 520; Mâle, *op. cit.*, pp. 122-123.
72. Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale, ms. fr. 958; Gleitlage; Blum, A. et Lauer, P., *La miniature française du XV<sup>e</sup> et XVI<sup>e</sup> siècles*, Brussels, 1930, pl. XXX.
73. Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale, ms. lat. 9471; Avignon Pietà, the Virgin appealing to a visible Father who is seen above the Cross; Mâle, *op. cit.*, p. 125.
74. Paris, Cluny Museum; Gleitlage; Labande, *Les primitifs français*, p. 192.
75. Paris, Louvre; Seated type; Sterling, G., *La peinture*

*française, les primitifs*, Paris, 1938, illustration 52.

76. Paris, Louvre; Avignon Pietà (Fig. 2).
77. Paris, Louvre; Gleitlage; photograph, Fogg Museum of Art.
78. Paris, Louvre; Gleitlage; *Bulletin des musées de France*, 1929, p. 163.
79. Paris, Nicolardot collection; Gleitlage-Bodenlage; photograph Fogg Museum of Art.
80. Sens (Yonne), Cathedral, treasury; Mâle, *op. cit.*, p. 128 (tapestry).
81. Sospel (Alpes-maritimes), Chapelle des Pénitents Blancs; Gleitlage; Labande, *Les peintres niçois des XV<sup>e</sup> et XVI<sup>e</sup> siècles*, in *Gazette des beaux arts*, 1912, II, p. 159.
82. Sospel (Alpes-maritimes), Chapelle des Pénitents Noirs; Avignon Pietà; Labande, *Les Brea*, p. 217 and pl. XLVIII.
83. Taggia, Dominican monastery; Seated type; Labande, *op. cit.*, p. 132.
84. Utielle (Alpes-maritimes); Gleitlage; Labande, *Les peintres niçois des XV<sup>e</sup> et XVI<sup>e</sup> siècles*, in *Gazette des beaux arts*, 1912, II, p. 165.

## APPENDIX B

### A LIST OF SPANISH SCULPTURED AND PAINTED PIETÀS

Spanish sculptured Pietàs are regular in iconography in relation to the rest of Europe. The earliest are pronouncedly German in style and are definitely patterned after the German "Ruhelage" type which was the standard form of the Vesperbild in the first half of the fifteenth century in Germany. In the works of the last half of the century Flemish and indigenous influences determine their characteristics. Again, the "Avignon Pietà type" is represented in examples dating from the last quarter of the century.

Painted Pietàs are also of frequent occurrence, following the same iconographical changes noted both in Appendix A and in the sculptured examples in Spain of the same subject.

#### Painting

##### School of Andalusia

1. Granada, Escuelas Pías, Francisco Chacón; Gleitlage-Bodenlage; Post, C. R., *History of Spanish Painting*, Cambridge, Massachusetts, 1930, IV, 2, pp. 397-400.
2. Lisbon, Museum, Bartolomé Ruiz; Bodenlage; Post, *op. cit.*, V, p. 26.
3. London, Tomas Harris Collection; Gleitlage; Post, *op. cit.*, VI, pp. 11-12.
4. Sanlúcar de Barrameda, Collection of Don Alfonso de Orléans; Gleitlage-Bodenlage; Post, *op. cit.*, V, pp. 22-24; photograph, Mas, 47517C.
5. Seville, cathedral, Juan Núñez, 1475; Gleitlage-Bodenlage; Post, *op. cit.*, V, pp. 27-30.
6. Seville, private collection; Bodenlage; photograph, Mas, 596610.

##### School of Aragon

7. Agreda, Iglesia de la Peña; Avignon Pietà; photograph, Mas, 58206C.
8. Tarazona, cathedral, Retable of the Rosary; Avignon Pietà, the Virgin raising her hands above her head rather than clasping them before her; photograph, Mas, 58647C.

##### School of Castile

9. Burgos, Collection of Marescal de Gante; Gleitlage; photograph, Fogg Museum of Art.
10. Espinosa de los Monteros, Retable of the Crucifixion, atelier of Oña; Avignon Pietà; Post, *op. cit.*, IV, 1, pp. 228-230.
11. Ghent, Museum; Avignon Pietà; Post, *op. cit.*, IV, 1, pp. 236.

12. Leon, Torbado collection, Palanquinos Master; Gleitlage; Post, *op. cit.*, VI, 2, pp. 624-626.
13. Los Balbases, S. Esteban, school of the Burgos Master; Avignon Pietà; Post, *op. cit.*, IV, 1, 217-219.
14. Madrid, formerly Lafora collection; Gleitlage-Bodenlage; Post, *op. cit.*, IV, 2, pp. 462.
15. Madrid, Prado, Retable of Archbishop Sancho de Rojas, (1415-1422); Ruhelage; Post, *op. cit.*, IV, 2, pp. 649-652.
16. Mayorga, Sta. Marina, Palanquinos Master; Avignon Pietà, the Magdalene in this rare case supporting Christ's head; Post, *op. cit.*, IV, 1, pp. 164-165.
17. Strasbourg, Musée des Beaux Arts, Luna Master; Gleitlage-Bodenlage; Post, *op. cit.*, VII, 2, pp. 857-858.

##### School of Catalonia

18. Antwerp, Museum, Retable of St. Michael; Sitz; Post, *op. cit.*, VII, 2, pp. 532.
19. Barcelona, cathedral, Bartolomé Bermejo, 1490; Gleitlage-Bodenlage; Post, *op. cit.*, V, pp. 144-150.
20. Barcelona, cathedral, Retable of the Guardian Angel, Jaime Huguet; Gleitlage; Post, *op. cit.*, VII, 1, pp. 130-135.
21. Barcelona, Museum of Catalan Art, Retable of St. Martin and the Beggar, school of Jaime Huguet; Avignon Pietà; Post, *op. cit.*, VII, 1, pp. 409-412.
22. Barcelona, Milá Collection, Triptych of the Pietà; Gleitlage-Bodenlage; Post, *op. cit.*, VII, 1, p. 42.
23. Olot, capilla de S. Miguel, Olot Master; Gleitlage; Post, *op. cit.*, VII, 1, pp. 340-343.
24. Tarrasa, Biblioteca-Museo Municipal, Visitation Master; Avignon Pietà; Post, *op. cit.*, VII, 2, pp. 486.



25. Tarrasa, Santa María, school of Bernardo Martorell; Ruhelage-Gleitlage; photograph, Mas, 10596C.

*School of Valencia*

26. Barcelona, Muntadas Collection, workshop of Martínez Master; Gleitlage; Post. *op. cit.*, VI, 2, pp. 364-367.

27. Játiva, S. Félix, Játiva Master; Sitz-Ruhelage; Post, *op. cit.*, VI, 1, pp. 155-158.

28. Játiva, S. Pedro; Gleitlage; Post, *op. cit.*, VI, 1, p. 164.

29. Nules, Retable of Madonna, school of Jacomart; Gleitlage, the hands kept close to Christ's sides as in the Ruhelage type, this combination being a favorite in Valencia; Post, *op. cit.*, VI, 1, pp. 155-158.

30. Segorbe, Cathedral, Retable of the Visitation; Gleitlage; Post *op. cit.*, VI, 1, pp. 149-152.

31. Todolella, Ermita de S. Onofre, Retable of St. Onophrius, Játiva Master; Gleitlage-Ruhelage (cf. no. 29); Post, *op. cit.*, VII, 2, pp. 708-711.

32. Valencia, Cathedral, school of Marzal de Sas; Gleitlage-Ruhelage; Post, *op. cit.*, III, pp. 90-91.

33. Valencia, Museo de Pinturas, Artés Master; Gleitlage-Bodenlage; Post, *op. cit.*, VI, 1, pp. 308-311.

34. Valencia, Museo de Pinturas, Retable of the Madonna, Martínez Master; Ruhelage-Gleitlage; Post, *op. cit.*, VI, 2, pp. 359-363.

35. Valencia, S. Nicolás, Retable of Crucifixion, Rodrigo de Osona the elder, 1478; Bodenlage; Post, *op. cit.*, VI, 1, pp. 177-184.

*Sculpture*

36. Barcelona, Cathedral; Gleitlage; Dieulafoy, R, *La statuaire polychrome en Espagne*, Paris, 1908, p. 80.

37. Convento de S. Clara, Capilla del Fundador; Ruhelage; photograph, Fogg Museum of Art.

38. Burgos, Provincial Museum, Tomb, Juan de Padilla; Gleitlage; Wethey, H. E., *Diego de Siloe*, Cambridge, U. S. A., 1936, p. 69.

39. Convento de Sta. Clara, Capilla del Fundador; Ruhelage; photograph, Fogg Museum of Art.

40. Miraflores, La Cartuja, Tomb; Sitz; Wethey, *op. cit.*, p. 24 and pl. X.

41. Palma de Mallorca, Museo Lulliano; Gleitlage-sitz; photograph, Fogg Museum of Art.

42. Salamanca; Bodenlage; Dieulafoy, *op. cit.*, pl. XVII.

43. Santa María de Nieva; Gleitlage; Weise, G., *Spanische Plastik aus sieben Jahrhunderten*, Reutlingen, 1925, I, p. 57 and pl. CXLVI.

44. Segovia, Cathedral; Avignon Pietà; Weise, *op. cit.*, I, p. 56.

45. Segovia, S. Miguel; Avignon Pietà; Weise, *op. cit.*, I, p. 56.

46. Toledo, Cathedral; Ruhelage; Weise, *op. cit.*, I, pp. 41-42.

47. Valladolid, Museum; Ruhelage; Weise, *op. cit.*, I, p. 42.

48. Valladolid, S. Magdalena; Gleitlage-Bodenlage; Weise, *op. cit.*, I, p. 55.

# GUILLERMO SAGRERA

BY HAROLD E. WETHEY<sup>1</sup>

**S**PANISH ART is still rich in uninvestigated material notwithstanding the numerous and important contributions of recent scholars. The conviction that the sculpture of the Lonja del Mar at Palma has an aesthetic and historic value which deserves recognition is responsible for the present short paper. If these sculptures were in any European country other than Spain, they would have been published many years ago, whereas only latterly have they even been photographed.

Guillermo Sagrera has long been known to students of Spanish art as an architect, but it has escaped general attention that like most medieval men of his profession he was also a sculptor. The Sagreras were a family of builders, and in our first notice of Guillermo, the most famous of them, we find him working as stonecutter in the Majorcan quarries of Felanig in company with his father Antonio and his cousin Miguel.<sup>2</sup> At that time (1397) Guillermo would have been between twelve and fifteen years old; consequently, we can establish his age as near seventy when he died at Naples in 1454.<sup>3</sup> His career changed scene more than once, and it was at Perpignan, a city then in possession of the kingdom of Aragon, that he first gained prominence, in the position of architect of St.-Jean. That title he held in 1416 when he was called to Gerona for the council of architects to decide upon the expediency of attempting to vault the nave of the cathedral with one great span. Guillermo and his colleagues approved, and to their confidence in part we owe one of the greatest creations of Spanish mediaeval architecture.<sup>4</sup> Sagrera's fame grew, and he was called to his native city of Palma in 1422 to assume the duties of cathedral architect. In the same year is dated his earliest known sculpture, the statue of St. Peter on the Puerta del Mirador.

Exactly which parts of the cathedral were in progress during Sagrera's intendantship is impossible to determine.<sup>5</sup> The windows in the chapel of St. William, now dedicated to St. Anthony of Padua, which he delivered in 1441, are like the others of the cathedral and hence not instructive.<sup>6</sup> Neither can any deduction be made from a study of the old Sala Capitular, erected at the expense of Gil Sancho Muñoz, bishop from 1430 to 1447, and presumably designed by Sagrera in his capacity as chief architect. The room is simple and conventional late-Gothic with a good doorway which resembles the architect's other works. The Lonja del Mar was the great monument of Sagrera's activity in Palma, and upon that he was chiefly engaged until he left for Naples sometime between August 13, 1446, and April 1447.<sup>7</sup>

1. I wish to express my thanks to the American Council of Learned Societies for a grant in aid of research. The material for the present article was collected as part of a larger program which was curtailed by the outbreak of the Civil War in Spain in July, 1936.

Figure 12 is reproduced by courtesy of the Metropolitan Museum of New York; Figure 18 is by Bowinkel of Naples. All other photographs in this article are from the collection of the Arxiu d'Arqueologia Catalana.

2. Piferrer and Quadrado, *Islas Baleares*, Barcelona, 1888, pp. 749, 922.

3. Filangieri di Candida, *Castel Nuovo, reggia angioina ed aragonese di Napoli*, Naples, 1934, p. 54; also *Architettura e scultura catalana in Campania nel secolo XV*, in *Bol. de la*

*Soc. Castellonense de Cultura*, XI, 1930, pp. 124-25; *La gran sala di Castelnuovo in Napoli*, in *Dedalo*, IX, 1928, p. 150.

4. Llaguno y Amirola, *Noticias de los arquitectos*, Madrid, 1829, I, pp. 93, 270; G. E. Street, *Gothic architecture in Spain*, edited by G. G. King, London, 1914, II, pp. 328-29.

5. Piferrer and Quadrado, *op. cit.*, pp. 752-54, 923-24. Contains all documents relating to the cathedral. Incomplete information in Jaime Villanueva, *Viaje literario*, Madrid, 1851, XXI, pp. 109-12.

6. The holy-water basin which he carved for the same chapel that year has disappeared.

7. For details see below.



FIG. 1—Palma in Majorca, Cathedral: Puerta del Mirador

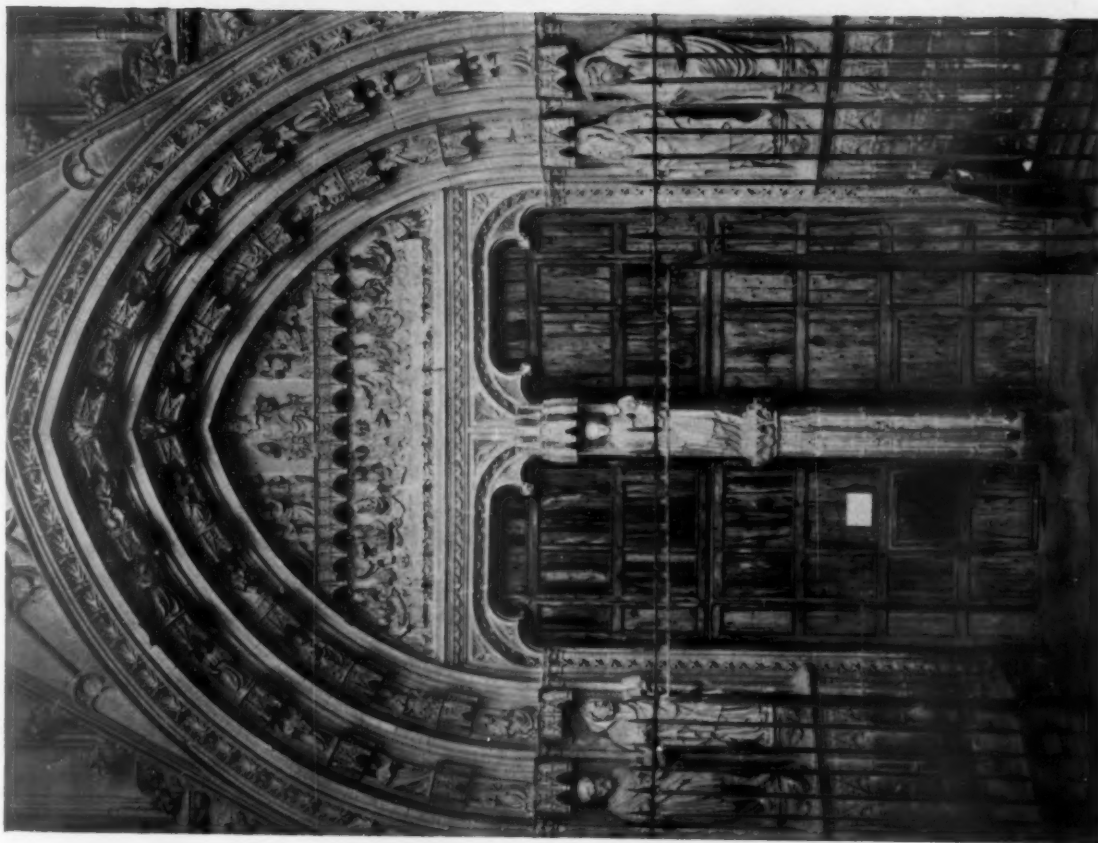


FIG. 2—Detail of Fig. 1





FIG. 3—*Palma in Majorca, Cathedral: St. John the Baptist and St. Peter*



FIG. 4—*Palma in Majorca, Cathedral: St. Paul and St. Andrew*



FIG. 5—*Palma in Majorca, Episcopal Museum: Virgin and Child*



FIG. 6—*Palma in Majorca, Episcopal Museum: Detail of Virgin*

Sagrera's works will be considered in three parts into which they logically fall: first, the sculpture on the Puerta del Mirador of Palma Cathedral which belongs to an early stage of development; secondly, the building of the Lonja del Mar in his full maturity; and finally, his epilogue, the Neapolitan period, when he was architect of the Castel Nuovo.

#### PUERTA DEL MIRADOR

Although Sagrera's share in the Puerta del Mirador of Palma Cathedral is limited to two statues, it seems advisable to pass in review the history of the entire monument. By this method Sagrera's sculpture may be easily distinguished from that of his predecessors and successors. More important, however, is the fact that a knowledge of the earlier sculpture is essential to an understanding of Sagrera's own development.

The portal stands within a deep vaulted porch (Figs. 1 and 2) preceded by a great pointed arch set in a rectangular frame. The composition of the exterior porch is notable for its simplicity and for the fine proportions of its architectural lines to which the ornament is strictly subordinated. The interior with its walls completely covered by rows of shallow niches is reminiscent of the English Perpendicular style, but no immediate connection should be postulated since the same kind of design occurs earlier in Catalonia.<sup>8</sup> The original intention was to place statues in all of these niches, as the pedestals and canopies preparatory to the reception of sculpture indicate. The unfinished state of the portal is due, it seems certain, not to later destruction but to curtailment of plan, a common occurrence in all periods. The sculpture completed decorates the jambs, tympanum, and archivolt of the doorways to which further emphasis is given by the great pointed gable above.<sup>9</sup>

Although the archives of the cathedral for the years 1394-1397 have been lost, the explicit documentation of the portal from its inception in 1389 up to 1394 establishes the authorship of a large part of the sculpture.<sup>10</sup> Juan of Valenciennes received payment in 1393-94 for the Last Supper in the tympanum, for eight of the ten prophets and three angels of the archivolt, for three figures beside God the Father, and in 1397 for four of the five angels with trumpets in the archivolt. Armed with such abundant information we conclude after a study of the monument that Juan was the sculptor of the whole tympanum and the archivolt except the Aaron and the prophet with banderole and the group of censuring angels on the left of God the Father.

8. See the portals of Nuestra Señora del Pino and the cathedral of Barcelona: P. Lavedan, *L'architecture gothique religieuse en Catalogne, Valence, et Baléares*, Paris, 1935, p. 227 ff., pl. XLIV.

The Puerta de la Almoina, a lateral door of Palma Cathedral, which was built as late as 1498 on the plans of Francisco Sagrera, is modeled after the Puerta del Mirador. Photo. in Lavedan, pl. XLVIII.

9. The Virgin which occupies the trumeau is a modern copy of the original now transferred to the Episcopal Museum. The jambs contain only five statues instead of the twelve originally projected: on the left of the doorways St. James, St. John the Baptist, and St. Peter; on the right St. Paul and St. Andrew. In the tympanum, which is divided into two registers, are the Last Supper in the lower section and, above, God the Father holding the Crucifix with censuring angels in attendance. The placing of the Last Supper in the tympanum is not rare in the fourteenth century. Examples in Spain are found in the church at Ujué, in Sto. Sepulcro at Estella, and in the cloister at Pamplona Cathedral. (Photos.: H. Mahn, *Katedralplastik in Spanien*, Tübingen, 1935, figs. 167, 177). Also in the Cathedral of Bordeaux (Photo.: Michel, *Histoire de l'art*, II, fig. 433).

The iconography of the Trinity in which God the Father holds the Crucified Son between His knees is widespread in the Gothic period. (K. Künstle, *Iconographie der christlichen Kunst*, Freiberg, 1928, I, p. 229; J. Braun, *Der christliche Altar*, Munich, 1924, II, p. 448).

Twelve angels under canopies engage the outer archivolt and not the inner as they usually do. Five on the left hold musical instruments, and a corresponding number on the right blow trumpets. At the top of the outer archivolt are St. Michael slaying the dragon and the Archangel Raphael with the young Tobias. The inner archivolt is devoted to Old Testament figures; on the left reading from the top down: Daniel with three lions, Jonah issuing from the whale, possibly Elisha with the pot of pottage (II Kings, iv, 38-41), Solomon seated upon a lion-headed throne, and David with his harp; on the right: Abraham's Sacrifice, Isaac blessing Jacob, who has a goat's skin upon his hand, Joseph blessing Manasseh and Ephraim, a prophet with banderole, and Aaron with his rod.

10. Piferrer and Quadrado, *op. cit.*, pp. 741-52. Contains all of the documents connected with the Puerta del Mirador.

Juan of Valencienes was a mediocre craftsman. The tympanum, a poor thing indeed, is weak and flaccid to the point of the grotesque. He fell short of adequacy in the Last Supper when he attempted liveliness and movement in the draperies and a vigorous realism in the heads.<sup>11</sup> The eight prophets are better, and the angels reveal him in a still more favorable light. The latter he carved with spirit, the St. Michael particularly, who in his undulating mantle is the essence of boyish charm. Juan's stylistic origins are the same as those of his contemporary, André Beauneveu, also of Valencienes. Beauneveu enjoyed great fame in France and the Netherlands, and because of the superior quality of his art he merits his prominence, whereas obscurity is Juan's well-deserved fate.

Names of several unimportant sculptors and masons, among them Enrique Alamant and Antonio Canet who carved some of the architectural decoration, occur in the documents relating to the Puerta del Mirador. The leading figure among the early sculptors, whose personality is, nevertheless, somewhat puzzling, was Pedro Morey, director of the portal from the beginning in 1389 up to the time of his death. The latter event is entered in the cathedral records thus: "On the twenty-ninth of January 1394 reckoning from Christmas passed from this life, Pedro Morey, sculptor, *maestro mayor* of the Puerta del Mar, which was begun by him. Anima eius requiescat in pace, amen."<sup>12</sup> It would be expected that Morey had some share in the sculpture although the documents do not mention a single statue as his work. Bertaux, logically enough, attributed to him the Virgin of the trumeau, now in the Episcopal Museum.<sup>13</sup> The mediocre engraved epitaph of Rainaldo Mir, carved in 1384, in the chapel of St. Anthony of Padua, would not lead one to expect such a fine performance by him.<sup>14</sup> If, on the other hand, the attribution is correct, Morey was a sculptor of exceptional ability. The statue (Figs. 5 and 6) is in marble, badly cracked and weathered by centuries of exposure and covered with a deep brown patina. The Virgin holds herself as majestically as a goddess, the slight Gothic swing of the hip notwithstanding; and the graceful rhythms of the drapery are decorative, yet the figure does not become flat and relief-like, as generally is the case in sculpture of the fourteenth century. On the contrary, the powerful form of the shoulders and bust are splendidly articulated. The head with its regularity of profile and its expression of serene nobility recalls in spirit French sculpture of the previous century at Reims and Amiens. The Majorcan Virgin is likewise akin in plastic strength and in underlying classical idealism to the work of the great Italian, Giovanni Pisano. Stylistically the statue, which is dated about 1389-1394, has the character of the mid-fourteenth century and hence is retarded. Whether or not Pedro Morey was the sculptor cannot be proven, but the merit of the statue as an object of exceptional beauty will not be challenged.

Guillermo Sagrera's connection with the Puerta del Mirador came a number of years after the main part had been finished. The payment for the statue of St. Peter in 1422

11. Photo.: A. L. Mayer, *Gotik in Spanien*, Leipzig, 1928, p. 102.

12. Six months after the death of Pedro Morey the Chapter of Palma Cathedral wrote to Gerona requesting the authorities to release Guillermo, Pedro's brother, then in their employ, so that he might take charge of the Puerta del Mirador. (Conde de Viñaza, *Adiciones*, I, pp. 101-103; Fita y Colomé, *Los reys d'Aragó y la seu de Girona*, Barcelona, 1893, pp. 100-101). Guillermo's services were highly valued and apparently his employers refused to free him from his contract. No further correspondence is known but the fact that another architect, Pedro de San Juan, had the direction of the Mirador in 1396 and 1397 excludes Guillermo Morey. (Piferrer and Quadrado, *op. cit.*, p. 745). Interestingly enough a Pedro de San Juan of Picardy was

named architect of Gerona Cathedral on March 2, 1397. (Viñaza, *op. cit.*, I, p. 132; Piferrer and Pi Margall, *Cataluña*, 1884, II, p. 100). This Pedro de San Juan must be the same man who was director of the Puerta del Mirador and who turned up again at Palma on June 21, 1398, signing the contract for the sculptured portal of San Miguel (*Bol. de la Soc. Arq. Lul.*, XVIII, 1921, p. 199). We would never have suspected that he was French, but now he must be added to the list of northern artists along with Juan of Valencienes and Enrique Alamant. The sculpture of San Miguel is passably good and somewhat belated in style.

13. Michel, *Histoire de l'art*, 1909, II, pp. 662-63.

14. Formerly the chapel of St. William. Document in *Bol. de la Soc. Arq. Lul.*, XVIII, 1921, p. 199; engraving in *idem*, IV, 1891, pl. LXXV.



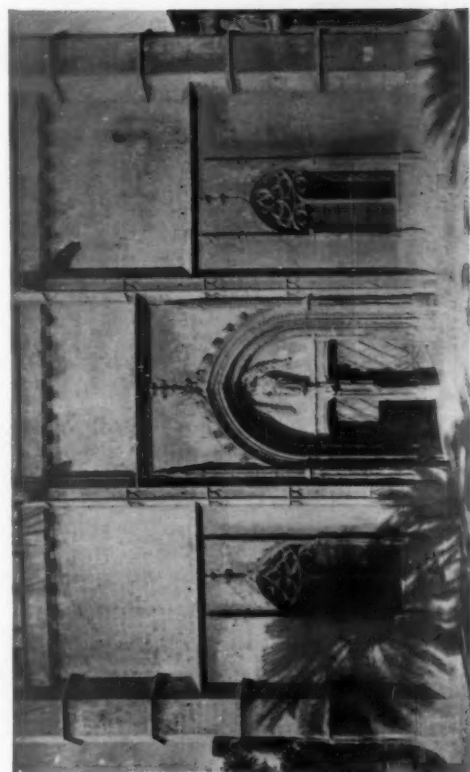


FIG. 7—*Façade*



FIG. 8—*Exterior*



FIG. 9—*Interior*  
*Palma in Majorca: Lonja*



FIG. 10—*Palma in Majorca, Lonja:*  
*Madonna and Child, by*  
*Guillermo Sagrera*



FIG. 11—*Palma in Majorca, Lonja:*  
*St. John the Baptist, by*  
*Guillermo Sagrera*



FIG. 12—*New York, Metropolitan*  
*Museum: St. John the Baptist*



FIG. 13—*Palma in Majorca, Lonja: Guardian*  
*Angel, by Guillermo Sagrera*

marks his first appearance in the documents of the cathedral, and then he was already *maestro mayor*. The statue (Fig. 3) reveals him as a skilful artist though by no means the master he was to become within a few years. The characterization of a vigorous and forcible old man is hard and strident. The garments are arranged in pleasing and graceful curves according to a formula much employed in Franco-Flemish sculpture of the period. St. Paul (Fig. 4) because of his close similarity to St. Peter may be assigned without hesitation to Sagrera aided liberally by his assistants. The enormous beard composed of flamboyant curls has ample precedent in the figures of the apostles at the right in Juan of Valenciennes' Last Supper. Indeed, for the sources of the artist's style in these two works one need seek no farther than the tympanum and archivolt of the Puerta del Mirador itself. Segrera, however, was no slavish imitator, and even here in his modest beginnings as a sculptor, he is far superior to his predecessor.

The other statues of the portal do not concern us directly. Santiago is quickly recognized as an Hispano-Flemish work of the third quarter of the fifteenth century.<sup>15</sup> St. John the Baptist (Fig. 3) because of vague hints of Italianism should be dated about 1500. St. Andrew (Fig. 4), dressed in a costume similar to that of St. Peter and St. Paul, is an archaistic production of the first quarter of the sixteenth century. The thrust of the left leg and the draping of the lower body are so characteristic of Spanish sculpture of the early Renaissance that the late dating is assured, with the possibility remaining that the statue was begun in Sagrera's time and finished a century later.

#### THE LONJA DEL MAR AT PALMA

The Lonja at Palma (Figs. 7, 8 and 9) is a monument of singular beauty, one hard to match among the fine civic edifices of Spain. As early as 1246, and that was shortly after the conquest of the Balearic Isles, James the Warrior of Aragon donated land near the port and granted the merchants permission to erect an exchange and hospice.<sup>16</sup> The present building was constructed much later in the second quarter of the fifteenth century by the architect Guillermo Sagrera. It consists of one great hall (Fig. 9) divided into three aisles of equal height by tall slender columns, the standard type of mediaeval hall. Although in a few cases such a room is divided into two aisles, the three-part arrangement is more usual. The baronial halls of mediaeval castles, hospitals, and other civic buildings, the libraries and chapter houses of monasteries furnish abundant precedent for the plan of the interior of the Lonja at Palma.

The slim spiral columns from which the ribs unfold into the vaults have lightness and grace, and they rise like the jets of a great fountain in smooth rapid movement which expands and spreads outward and upward over the vaulting. Surely the man who conceived this was a genius. The spiral column is, of course, no invention of his. Romanesque and Gothic architects had employed it often, especially in Italy, but in a decorative way on portals, altars, pulpits, and tombs, and in cloisters. To use spiral columns for the support of a large vaulted area is indeed rare.<sup>17</sup> The architect of the later Lonja at Valencia (1482-98) so admired the scheme that he was content to imitate it accurately.

15. Photos.: A. L. Mayer, *Gotik in Spanien*, p. 10; A. L. Mayer, *Plastiken franko-flämischer Gotiker auf Mallorca, Der Cicerone*, XV, 1923, p. 849.

16. A *lonja* was an exchange, that is, a business house for merchants. The word is derived from the Italian *loggia*. It is replaced in modern usage by the word *bolsa*.

17. The Loggia dei Mercanti at Ancona (1443-59) in

which the spiral column plays a prominent part was built a few years later than the Lonja. (Photos.: Venturi, *Storia dell'arte italiana*, Milan, 1924, Vol. VIII, part 2, figs. 311-12). The twisted columns in St. Blasius, Braunschweig (1469-74), are not exactly comparable with those at Palma. (Photo.: H. C. Lempertz, *Wesen der Gotik*, Leipzig, 1926, pl. 33). Somewhat similar to the columns



The columns have neither bases, nor capitals, nor moldings. The simplification of supporting members is general throughout late-Gothic architecture, and other cases may be found where the vaulting ribs unwind from the column without interruption, but nowhere is the effect so beautiful as here. Similarly the ribs of the vault merge into the walls of the room at the sides, leaving the walls untouched by ornament. Only the bosses in the vaults are carved and they with great delicacy. The escutcheon of Aragon decorates those of the center aisle, and in the side aisles the shield of the city of Palma alternates with the emblem of the merchants, a kneeling angel holding a banderole (Fig. 15).

Two windows are sunk deep into the wall on the south, east, and west sides of the building. The niches thus formed are covered with quadripartite ribbed vaults from the keystone of which in each case an angel (Fig. 14) flies down with an impetuous rush.<sup>18</sup> Each of the two fine corbels which flank the windows is decorated with a man, one bearded and the other beardless by way of contrast. In the north wall are two large doorways, now blocked up, of window-shape which apparently were opened only on special occasions. Each of the doorways in the four corners of the hall which open into stairways leading to the towers is decorated with an evangelist (Figs. 9, 19, and 20). Gothic letters are cut on the banderoles of Sts. Matthew, Mark, and John, but they seem to be meaningless as often is the case with such inscriptions.<sup>19</sup>

The exterior of the Lonja (Figs. 7 and 8) shows the feeling of the southern architect for logically balanced design and for plastic rather than the pictorial expression of the northerner. The large octagonal towers at the corners are the sustaining accents of the edifice and the repetition of them on a small scale flanking the windows gives a fine unity to the composition. The lines of the building, except for the vertical towers, are horizontal. The intersection of the verticals and horizontals divides the surface of the walls into a series of rectangular panels, and the repeated moldings of the towers reiterate the horizontality which is further carried out in the open balustrade at the summit. The windowlike motive of the crowning and the stepped crenelations make a transition from the solid mass of the building into space.

The contract which the architect, Guillermo Sagrera, signed on March 11, 1426, contains explicit instructions for the sculpture of the exterior.<sup>20</sup> The Madonna (Fig. 10) was to be over the portal which faces the royal castle; an angel under a tabernacle with the escutcheons of the king and of the city in each of the three other façades. The Virgin, nevertheless, does not appear in the location specified but over the western portal, and only one of the angels exists: that over the eastern portal which faces the royal castle. Although the corbels and tabernacles were carved on the other two façades, the statues, if ever executed, are no longer extant.<sup>21</sup> On each of the four corners of the building in the upper story Sagrera

at Braunschweig are those in the church at Setúbal, Portugal, begun about 1480 (E. Bertaux, *La géométrie et le réalisme dans la décoration manuelle*, in Michel, *Histoire de l'art*, Paris, 1911, IV, pp. 858 ff.).

At the end of the fifteenth and in the early sixteenth centuries the spiral colonette was popular with Spanish decorators and designers of furniture. It replaces the round column in the well known cloisters of San Gregorio at Valladolid and El Belem at Lisbon.

18. Two of these angels are modern restorations: that in the vaulting of the niche on the north side of the east wall, and that in the vaulting of the niche on the south side of the west wall. The angel in the eastern niche of the south wall is headless and otherwise badly mutilated.

19. St. Matthew and St. Luke seem to have been carved by Sagrera; St. John and St. Mark, on the contrary, are

inferior shop productions.

20. A. Frau, *La lonja de Palma*, in *Bol. de la Soc. Arq. Lul.*, 1885, nos. 14-24, 25, 29, 32, contains all documents relating to the Lonja.

21. The whole building of the Lonja was restored in 1885 (*Bol. de la Soc. Arq. Lul.*, 1885, no. 14, p. 1).

Engravings of the Lonja dated 1813 show an angel under the tabernacle in the center of the north façade. A male saint of the seventeenth or eighteenth century appears on the now empty trumeau of the eastern door. The saints on the towers on this side are interchanged, and yet the engraving is not in reverse. The lack of accuracy in the engravings does not inspire confidence in them as testimony of what might have existed before the restoration of 1885. Reproduced in *Bol. de la Soc. Arq. Lul.*, 1885, nos. 16 and 18.



FIG. 14—*Palma in Majorca, Lonja: Angel*  
by Guillermo Sagrera



FIG. 15—*Palma in Majorca, Lonja: Boss with Merchants' Escutcheon*, by  
Guillermo Sagrera



FIG. 16—*Palma in Majorca, Museum of the Lonja: Plaque with Merchants' Escutcheon*, by  
Guillermo Sagrera



FIG. 17—*Palma in Majorca, Lonja: Corbel*, by Guillermo Sagrera



FIG. 18—*Naples, Castel Nuovo: Capital in the Gran Sala*

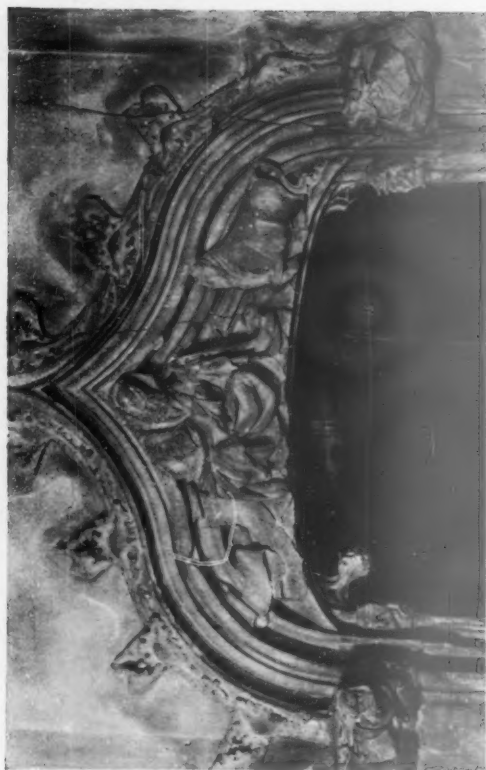


FIG. 19—*Palma in Majorca, Lonja: St. Luke, by  
Guillermo Sagrera*



FIG. 20—*Palma in Majorca, Lonja: St. Matthew, by  
Guillermo Sagrera*



was to place the statue of a saint: St. Nicholas looking toward Porto Pi, St. John the Baptist facing the church dedicated to him, St. Catherine on the side next to the Arsenal, and St. Clara facing the royal castle. Of these only St. Nicholas is lacking;<sup>22</sup> the others are located as planned.

The Guardian Angel of the merchants (Fig. 13), who stands six feet tall in the tympanum of the main portal, excels all other sculptures of the Lonja. His wings, gigantic and luxuriant like the plumes of some fabulous bird, fill the upper part of the pointed niche, and below his feet were once the escutcheons of the king and the city of Palma. The banderole curves decoratively across his body in a Gothic S-form. His alb and cope hang loosely and break into a cluster of ripples at the right. Loveliest of all is the head set proudly upon a long slender neck. A faint smile flickers over the lips and cheeks, and the flamboyant hair blows back in flaming waves of tight curls. The lights and shadows which are caught in the deep cutting and in the thick curls about the face give the whole statue sparkle and animation. Of the same cast and spirit are the angels (Fig. 14) of the window keystones who hurl themselves from above, the flicker now breaking into a broader smile and the hair blown still more in the swiftness of their flight. Closely related also are the charming little angels (Fig. 15) on the merchants' escutcheon in the vaulting. The artist has skilfully fitted the figure into the roundel with his usual keen sense of the decorative. The curve of the banderole he employs again, and once more crisp wings, here like palm leaves; the tousled hair clusters engagingly about the young face. The whole boss is gilded except for the blue background, the banderole, and the flesh.

The life-sized statue of the Madonna nursing the Child (Fig. 10) is one of the most interesting sculptures of the Lonja for various reasons, above all because of its stylistic derivation from Burgundy. The short, broad, and massive proportions, the plumply Germanic face and wavy blonde hair are unmistakably Burgundian when combined with the distinctive formula of drapery used here. Curiously enough, the work which most closely resembles the Madonna in style is Claus Sluter's Moses. The similarity runs deeper than the weighty proportions of each. The voluminous cope which seems to be made of soft wool is draped across the body in loose semicircular curves in almost exactly the same fashion as Moses'. Different, however, is the vertical drop of clustered folds at each side of the Palma statue. This Madonna is an impressive figure and certainly among the best works of the Burgundian style in all Spain.<sup>23</sup>

Likewise strikingly Burgundian in type is the St. John the Baptist (Fig. 11) enveloped in an abundant mantle. The characterization of the head fails in depth and conviction, for in spite of the numerous wrinkles and the long flowing beard the expression of the face is rather vacuous and child-like. To be sure, the stone is badly weathered, yet the statue lacks the qualities of good design found in the Guardian Angel and the Madonna, and never could have been so satisfactory as they. A close analogue to the Lonja Baptist is the St. John from Poligny in Burgundy, now in the Metropolitan Museum at New York (Fig. 12).<sup>24</sup> The latter is far superior in bearing and movement. The organization of the copious Gothic draperies into decorative flourishes and the depth of the modeling with a resultant richness in the play of light and shade place the Lonja St. John in an unfavorable light by comparison, yet the essential stylistic elements are the same in both cases.

22. B. Ferrá, in *Bol. de la Soc. Arq. Lul.*, 1885, no. 21, p. 5, states that the statue of St. Nicholas disappeared from its place in his time.

23. It is still possible to detect the excellent quality of the statue of the Madonna in the cloister at Olite, attributed to Johan Lomme, although it has lost the head

and shoulders.

The angel in a frog-like attitude above the head of the Palma Madonna once held a crown.

24. Cf. J. J. Rorimer, *A statue of St. John the Baptist possibly by Claus Sluter*, in *Bull. of Met. Mus. of Art*, XXIX, 1934, pp. 192-95.

Under the statues on the corners of the Lonja are corbels, each adorned by an old man with long beard and curly hair (Fig. 17). These figures are brilliant pieces of decoration and among the best sculpture of the building. Their crisp beards and hair fly out in calligraphic swirls and their bodies vibrate with energy. Another corbel in the form of an angel is located beneath the empty tabernacle in the center of each of the long sides of the edifice.<sup>25</sup>

Among the objects in the museum of the Lonja is a small stone relief measuring  $71 \times 61\frac{1}{2}$  cm. on which is carved the shield of the merchants (Fig. 16). The composition is identical with the angels of the bosses (Fig. 15), that is, in the posture of the kneeling figure, the diagonal swing of the banderole, and the placing of the wings. A closer and more detailed examination of the face, hair, and wings leaves no doubt that the relief is the work of Sagrera as surely as the bosses and the other angels which decorate the building. The inscription reads thus: "En el any 1444 fon fet lo present porxo stant (In the year 1444 this portico was made)." Now this relief must belong to the building of the Lonja. The fact that the escutcheon is exactly like that of the bosses implies that it must be part of the same monument as well as the product of the same artist. We have, therefore, the date for the completion of the *porxo* which formerly stood in the Plaza de Moll on the east façade of the Lonja. Sagrera mentioned it in the document of August 13, 1446, when he gave to his assistants the task of finishing the structure. He said, "Item 5, That the said Guillermo Vilasolar and Miguel Sagrera are bound to complete all the pavement of the portico (*porxo*) of the said *collegi* now newly made in the Plaza de Moll in the city of Majorca, that is, as much as is covered (so es, aytant com es cubert)."<sup>26</sup> It would be fruitless to speculate on the form of the covered portico, but we have no reason to question that it once existed and that the relief under discussion commemorated its termination.

The many documents concerning the Lonja furnish us with a detailed story of its construction.<sup>27</sup> Sagrera signed a contract on March 11, 1426, in which he agreed to continue the building "in the form which was begun and according to the designs given" and to complete it within fifteen years. The construction progressed satisfactorily for nine years, and then occurred the first indication of difficulties between the architect and the merchants. We learn that for six months from September 1, 1435, to March 1, 1436, work on the edifice ceased while Sagrera and his men were engaged upon unspecified building for the University of Majorca, once in the Calle Estudio General. The university has long since disappeared, and hence no trace is left of Sagrera's activity there. He returned to the Lonja, however, on March 1, 1436, and renounced all claim to payment for the six months during which he had abandoned it. Nevertheless, more trouble ensued between architect and clients eight years later, when Sagrera demanded payment for additional labors not specified in the original agreement. The upshot of the dispute was that the disillusioned artist freed himself of further obligations on August 13, 1446, by consigning the completion of the Lonja to his assistants Guillermo Vilasolar and Miguel Sagrera.<sup>28</sup> The last document relating to the construction of the building is that of March 19, 1451, in which Vilasolar agreed to finish the windows.

The quarrel between Sagrera and the merchants of Palma was by no means settled.

25. The rest of the sculpture on the exterior of the Lonja which differs in style from the works just discussed was presumably added shortly after the departure of Guillermo Sagrera in 1446. It comprises: St. Clara, St. Catherine, and the tiny angels and grotesque animals decorating the windows, which are too badly weathered and restored to merit consideration.

26. *Bol. de la Soc. Arq. Lul.*, 1885, nos. 14, 29.

27. See note 20. The contract of 1426 is also published in English and in Spanish: G. E. Street, *Gothic architecture in Spain*, II, pp. 333-35; Llaguno y Amírola, *Noticias de los arquitectos*, I, pp. 276-79.

28. Miguel Sagrera was probably Guillermo's cousin and not his brother, as Frau believed.

The king himself, Alfonso V of Aragon, then living in Naples, wrote to Palma in behalf of the architect on March 6, 1450, and on October 21 he appointed a commission to investigate the litigation.<sup>29</sup> At that time he described Sagrera as *protomagister* of the Castel Nuovo of Naples. Sagrera finally won his case, although, even if he lived long enough to enjoy the pleasure of vindication, he received no financial reward. We conclude as much from an undated record in which the merchants announced their intention to determine upon a settlement with Guillermo's son, Francisco, in regard to "a question of long ago about the edifice and construction of the Lonja."<sup>30</sup>

Certain sculptures of Sagrera's school remain to be mentioned. The Episcopal Museum at Palma possesses four small evangelists in stone, varying from 33 to 38 cm. in height, which are said to have come from the old church of Sto. Espíritu, later rebuilt and dedicated to San Felipe Neri.<sup>31</sup> The interest of the statuettes is chiefly historical in that they are the handiwork of a Sagrera pupil and related in style to the Lonja evangelists. One other work will serve to show how limited in extent was the Burgundian style in Palma. There is a statue of the Madonna and Child in the Episcopal Museum which is contemporary with the Madonna of the Lonja with which it shares short broad proportions and Burgundian drapery. The relationship to the Sagrera school is manifest, but to infer any more immediate connection would be hazardous. The statue has character and would be worthy of respect, were it subjected to a judicious restoration, removing the crude modern paint from the heads and the artificial flowers from the Madonna's hand.

A study of Sagrera's sculpture forces the conclusion that his style was formed with a knowledge of Burgundian monuments. His early work in the St. Peter of the Puerta del Mirador, already showing traces of Franco-Flemish influence, is dependent upon the tympanum of the same portal carved by Juan of Valenciennes, and hence there is no reason to go farther afield than Palma itself for an explanation of his development thus far. That was in 1422. By the time he executed the Lonja statues a notable progress in quality and in style had been achieved. As for their date, it might be placed between 1435 and 1446. In the latter year, when Sagrera took his leave, the sculpture must have been complete, in the main at least, since no mention of it is made in the list of parts still unfinished. On the other end, an allowance of nine years before the building would have been sufficiently advanced for the artist to start upon the sculpture would seem reasonable. The question is how Sagrera acquired his familiarity with the Burgundian style between 1422 and approximately 1435.

Franco-Flemish and Burgundian sculpture already existed in Spain itself at this time. Johan Lomme of Tournai, author of Charles the Noble's tomb, appeared in Pamplona as early as 1411 and is traceable in documents until 1424. The royal accounts of Navarre contain the names of numerous French artists employed by Charles, a king of pure French blood whose culture was thoroughly French.<sup>32</sup> Elsewhere in Spain the Burgundian manner is occasionally met, for example, in the tomb of the Cardinal San Eustaquio (d. 1434) at Sigüenza,<sup>33</sup> and in the retable in Sta. Clara at Tordesillas (*circa* 1430-35).<sup>34</sup> Later a Spanish

29. Llaguno y Amírola, *op. cit.*, I, pp. 280-81; Furió, *Diccionario de las bellas artes en Mallorca*, Palma, 1839, pp. 152-53.

Sagrera was promised 22,000 libras for the entire construction of the Lonja. Payments to him and to his successors totaled 17,473 libras and the sum of 1850 libras for extras. *Bol. de la Soc. Arg. Lul.*, 1885, no. 32.

30. *Bol. de la Soc. Arg. Lul.*, 1885, no. 16.

31. B. Ferrá, in *Bol. de la Soc. Arg. Lul.*, 1886, no. 39. They could never, I think, have decorated the recon-

structed portal in the east wall on the exterior as Ferrá suggests.

32. Bertaux, *Le mausolée de Charles le Noble à Pampelune* in *Gaz. des Beaux Arts*, XL, 1908, pp. 89-112.

33. R. de Orueta, *La escultura funeraria en España*, Madrid, 1919, pp. 41-52. The date 1426 inscribed on the front of the sarcophagus probably records the year the tomb was made.

34. Weise, *Spanische Plastik*, Reutlingen, 1925-1929, I,



sculptor, Juan de la Huerta of Daroca, became a leading figure of the Burgundian school itself in Dijon, its capital, where he executed the tomb of John the Fearless and Marguerite of Bavaria now in the Dijon Museum. From about 1439 until 1462 he was active at Chalons-sur-Saône, Mâcon, and Dijon. Of his antecedents in Spain, unfortunately, we know nothing, and, moreover, his career was too late to have had any bearing upon the formation of Sagrera's art.<sup>35</sup>

Notwithstanding the plenitude of Burgundian influence in Spain, Sagrera's sculpture gives every indication of a knowledge of French monuments at first hand. No other statues in Spain depend more closely upon the Sluter tradition than the Madonna and St. John the Baptist of the Lonja (Figs. 10 and 11). Indeed, were they in a museum outside of Spain, they would pass as products of the school of Dijon. That Sagrera himself was the sculptor as well as the architect of the Lonja seems unquestionable, since he took the responsibility for the sculpture in the contract of 1426, and especially in view of the fact that a capital in the Gran Sala of the Castel Nuovo in Naples is in exactly the same style as the sculpture in Palma. This capital (Fig. 18), one of the two which escaped the fire of 1919, is a mediocre thing not carved by Sagrera himself, although after his design. The angel on the left of the book, an emblem of Alfonso V, is similar in many respects to the angels of the bosses and the inscribed relief at Palma (Figs. 15 and 16). Most notable are the large wings and flowing hair which, though dry in the cutting, recall the Guardian Angel of the Lonja portal (Fig. 13).

In conclusion we may postulate a trip through France made by Sagrera some time between 1422, when he carved the St. Peter of the Puerta del Mirador, and 1426, when he signed the Lonja contract. He would have traveled in Burgundy, studying the monuments of his contemporaries and immediate predecessors. There he might have known Claus de Werve, Sluter's successor. Afterwards Sagrera would have returned to Palma a maturer artist, broadened by the new worlds he had seen.<sup>36</sup>

#### GUILLERMO SAGRERA IN NAPLES

Sagrera seems to have left Palma almost immediately after signing the agreement with his assistants on August 13, 1446, whereby they were to carry the building of the Lonja to an end.<sup>37</sup> In any case he was no longer in Palma by April, 1447, when a certain Arnau Piris was acting as his substitute in the works of the cathedral. Although the authorities of the cathedral expected him to return, as the fact that they continued to pay his salary as late as 1448 demonstrates, he was never again to see his native city.<sup>38</sup> He departed, no doubt disillusioned by the unfair dealings of the merchants, and set sail for the Aragonese court in Naples with the hope of finding employment there. His fame was such that already in 1448 he held the position of *protomagister* of the Castel Nuovo,<sup>39</sup> which Alfonso

pp. 44-47; III, p. 4; C. R. Post, *A History of Spanish Painting*, Cambridge, 1930, III, pp. 282-85.

A strong Burgundian influence is discernible in paintings such as the frescoes in San Isidoro del Campo, Santiponce, near Seville, dated 1431-1436. Post, *op. cit.*, III, pp. 318-21.

35. The tomb of John the Fearless is the work of Juan de la Huerta except for the effigies which were carved in 1462-69 by Antoine Le Moiturier. The full story of the Spaniard's career in Burgundy and particularly the part concerning the three non-extant tombs commissioned by Louis de Châlon will not be known until scholars are granted access to the unpublished documents in the library of the Marquis de Vogüé in Chateau d'Arlay.

C. Monget, *La chartreuse de Dijon*, Montreuil, 1901, II,

pp. 113-36; Henri Chabeuf, *Jean de la Huerta, Mémoires de l'Académie de Dijon*, II, 1890-91, pp. 141-271; Edouard Clerc, *Essai sur l'histoire de la Franche-Comté*, Besançon, 1846, II, p. 441; P. Brune, *Statues de l'école dijonnaise dans l'église de Mâges*, in *Réunion des Soc. des Beaux Arts*, XXIII, 1899, pp. 345-50.

36. Bibliography on the Lonja not already cited: Gaspar de Jovellanos, *Carta histórico-artística sobre el edificio de la Lonja de Mallorca*, Palma, 1835; Lampérez y Romea, *Las casas de contratación esp.*, Museum, III, 1913, pp. 349-58.

37. *Bol. de la Soc. Arg. Lul.*, 1885, no. 14.

38. Piferrer and Quadrado, *op. cit.*, p. 924.

39. Filangieri di Candida, in *Bol. de la Soc. Castellonense de Cultura*, XI, 1930, pp. 123-25.

the Magnanimous was rebuilding, and in that capacity he remained until his death six years later.

The Castel Nuovo erected by Charles of Anjou in 1279 had enjoyed a long history as the home of the Angevin rulers. Alfonso decided to make it his chief residence, and in 1443, just one year after his entry into the city, work on the structure began. Filangieri di Candida, who so thoroughly studied the monument and discovered many important documents concerning it, held the opinion that the Aragonese completely rebuilt the Angevin castle.<sup>40</sup> Despite the wealth of records we do not know who drew the plans and exactly what part Sagrera had in the design of the exterior.<sup>41</sup> Certain features, such as the stairway of the courtyard and the sculptured canopy for a non-extant statue nearby, are unquestionably Catalan.<sup>42</sup> Moreover, the type of castle with great round towers is Gothic like those of Villeneuve-lès-Avignon, Bellver in Majorca, Belmonte at Cuenca, Turégano near Segovia, Olmillos near Burgos, Cuellar, and many others.<sup>43</sup>

As to Sagrera's authorship of the Gran Sala, there is no doubt. The commission for it was granted on December 20, 1452, and when death overtook him in November, 1454, his assistants assumed the responsibility. Alfonso suitably inaugurated the Great Hall of his castle in April, 1457, with a state banquet in honor of his nephew, the romantic and ill-fated prince, Charles of Viana.<sup>44</sup>

The Gran Sala of today has undergone a complete restoration in consequence of the fire which devastated the building in 1919, at that time a storehouse of war materials. The walls were riddled and the sculptured decoration almost entirely destroyed. Of the two capitals (Fig. 18) which remain in the deep window recesses, we have already demonstrated that one was carved after Sagrera's design. The outstanding feature of this great square hall which measures twenty-six meters to the side and twenty-eight meters in height is the splendid late-Gothic vaulting. By throwing squinches across each of the four corners of the room it is transformed into an octagon at the top and thus prepared for the vaulting in the form of an eight-pointed star.<sup>45</sup> Ample precedent for the placing of a star vault over a square in exactly this fashion is found in Spanish chapter houses of the fourteenth century, notably those of the cathedrals of Valencia, Burgos, and Pamplona.<sup>46</sup> Spain is famous for the number and beauty of the star-shaped vaults, most of them dating from the late fifteenth and sixteenth centuries, which embellish her churches.<sup>47</sup>

Thus Sagrera ended his long and honorable career with the rank of chief architect to his king, Alfonso the Magnanimous of Aragon and Naples. Still a young man, he had gained an important post as architect of St.-Jean at Perpignan. In his subsequent years at Palma which covered the best part of his life he created his masterpiece and one of the masterpieces of Spanish architecture, the Lonja del Mar. The circumstances attendant upon the erection of it must have caused him the bitterest moments of his professional life, but that episode was responsible for a broadening of his sphere and the transplanting of Catalan architecture to Naples. Few are the Spanish architects of the Middle Ages about whom our knowledge is sufficient to establish them as personalities, and fewer are those of true originality amounting to genius. Such a one was Guillermo Sagrera.

40. Filangieri di Candida, *Castel Nuovo, reggia angioina ed aragonese di Napoli*, Naples, 1934 is a complete history of the castle.

Alfonso of Aragon finally captured the kingdom of Naples after years of war and intrigues which involved the mad queen Joanna of Naples, the house of Anjou, the papacy, and the Visconti of Milan. He established himself in his new capital for the rest of his life, and became a true

prince of the Italian Renaissance, a patron of the arts.

41. Lionello Venturi's thesis that Luciano Laurana was architect of the Castel Nuovo has been convincingly demolished by Filangieri di Candida in *L'arte*, XXXI, 1928, pp. 32-35.

42. Photos. in Filangieri di Candida, *Castel Nuovo*; Filangieri di Candida, *La gran sala di Castel Nuovo in Napoli*, in *Dedalo*, IX, 1928, pp. 145-71; Venturi, *Storia*

*dell'arte italiana*, vol. VIII, part II, Milan, 1924, pp. 29-37.

43. Lampérez y Romea, *Arquitectura civil española*, Madrid, 1922, I, pp. 227-337.

44. Filangieri di Candida, *Castel Nuovo*, pp. 53-54; Filangieri di Candida, in *Dedalo*, IX, 1928, pp. 146-50. The contract for the completion of the hall dated November 21, 1454, was given after Sagrera's death to Giovanni Sagrera and Giacomo, cousin and son of Guillermo respectively, Trescoll, Gerra, and Casamuri.

45. Sagrera must also have designed the wooden ceiling on the same plan as the vault of the Gran Sala which covers the small chamber called the Capella di San Francesco di Paola. The ceiling bears the escutcheon of Alfonso the Magnanimous.

46. Lampérez y Romea, *Historia de la arquitectura esp. de la edad media*, Madrid, 1909, p. 63.

47. Best known are the lantern and the vault of the Constable Chapel in Burgos Cathedral, and the vaults composed of interlacing ribs, Mudéjar in plan, such as the lanterns in the cathedrals of Saragossa, Teruel, and Tarragona. G. G. King, *Mudéjar*, New York, 1927, pp. 61-64, 76, 79-80.

Other bibliography on the Castel Nuovo not previously cited: Filangieri di Candida, *I restauri di Castel Nuovo di Napoli*, in *Anuari de l'Institut d'Estudis Catalans*, VII, 1921-26, pp. 139-45; F. Rolland, *El Castillo de los reyes de Aragón en Nápoles*, *Revista esp. de arte*, 1934, pp. 211-18; Carlo Calzecchi, *Nous estudis sobre Castelnuovo i especialment sobre la gran sala de trionfo, Ciutat i la casa*, I, 1925, pp. 3-22; Filangieri di Satriano, *Doc. per la storia, e le industrie*, Naples, 1891, VI, p. 404; Mineri Riccio, *Alcuni fatti di Alfonso I d'Aragona*, *Arch. stor. nap.*, Naples, 1881 VI, p. 421.



# THE HISTORY AND ARCHITECTURE OF THE CHURCH OF ST. FORTUNATUS AT CHARLIEU IN BURGUNDY<sup>1</sup>

By ELIZABETH READ SUNDERLAND

## I. THE POSITION OF CHARLIEU IN THE DEVELOPMENT OF ROMANESQUE ARCHITECTURE

AT THE beginning of the eleventh century there existed throughout much of western Europe a type of ecclesiastical architecture which Puig y Cadafalch has named the First Romanesque style.<sup>2</sup> Its representative monuments varied in different regions, but certain distinguishing characteristics were common to most of them. Conspicuous among these were the small size and simple plan of the churches, the plain round or square supports between the nave and the aisles (though cruciform and even more complex piers elaborated by additional pilasters were not infrequent), the almost complete lack of sculpture, and the use of arched corbel tables and pilaster strips for exterior decoration. In addition, vaulted churches were to be found in certain regions notably Catalonia and Burgundy.

The simplicity of these First Romanesque churches, many of which still stand in Burgundy, is well illustrated by the early eleventh century parish church of Chapaize, in Burgundy. That the workmanship lacks refinement is immediately obvious from a cursory examination of the great round piers, the simple triangular transition capitals, and the walls and vaults constructed of small, roughly shaped blocks of stone (Fig. 19).<sup>3</sup> In the wall shafts, rising from the pier capitals to the springing of the vault, there is hardly more than a suggestion of subdivision and membering.

The late tenth century church of St.-Pierre-le-Vieux, excavated by Professor Conant at Cluny, is apparently an earlier example of the same type. Here, in a building one hundred and fifty feet long, were found the bases of sturdy round piers combined with foundations of such size that vaulting seems very probable.

In the last quarter of the eleventh century a remarkable change appeared. Churches were being built everywhere of much greater size, which were distinguished by more elaborate plans and vaulting systems often permitting windows for lighting the nave. As part of the decorative scheme there were compound piers with attached columns or pilasters carrying sculptured capitals, wall shafts, and transverse vault ribs; and figure sculpture on the portals was developed into elaborate iconographic schemes. The great church of Peter and Paul at Cluny, begun in 1088, was a notable example of this new style, called the Great Romanesque.

1. I wish to acknowledge my great obligation to Professor Kenneth J. Conant, of Harvard University, for invaluable suggestions and criticisms throughout the progress of this study. I am also indebted to my sister, Alice L. Sunderland, who, during the summers of 1937 and 1938, helped me both in making the intricate and detailed measurements of the ruins at Charlieu and in taking the photo-

graphs shown in this article.

2. J. Puig y Cadafalch, *Le premier art roman*, Paris, 1928, and *La géographie et les origines du premier art roman*, Paris, 1935.

3. Cut stone was occasionally, although sparingly, used in Burgundy from early times, as shown by the tenth century church of St. Laurent of Tournus.

The gulf between the two styles is very great, but how the change from one to the other was accomplished has not been clearly understood. The contrast appeared nowhere in more striking form than in Cluny itself, where the early style was represented by the church of St.-Pierre-le-Vieux, completed in 981, and the later style by the great church, begun in 1088. No church had been built in Cluny of a type which could have served to bridge the gap. Because of the disappearance of most of the larger and more important structures known to have been erected in that period, and the difficulty in dating those which have survived, the transition in architectural concepts from the First Romanesque of the first quarter of the eleventh century to the Great Romanesque of the last quarter is very much obscured.

It has been well understood, however, that while the Cluniac order built no church in Cluny in the interval which separated the two architectural styles, it carried on extensive building operations in other places where its abbeys and priories were located. This clearly appears in the account of the life of St. Odilo,<sup>4</sup> abbot of Cluny from 994 to 1048, written by Jotsaldus between 1049 and 1053.<sup>5</sup> A search among the outlying possessions of the Cluniac order might therefore be expected to disclose the records and remains of a church built during the second and third quarters of the eleventh century which would supply a link between the First and the Great Romanesque.

In the year 932<sup>6</sup> the abbey of Charlieu came under the control of Cluny. Its church and monastery had been built in the ninth century, presumably by Gausmar, its first abbot.<sup>7</sup> But in the first half of the eleventh century,<sup>8</sup> the abbot of Cluny began the erection of a new church at Charlieu<sup>9</sup> on the site of the original church built in the ninth century, and it continued in course of construction for more than fifty years. Here, then, in the eleventh century church of St. Fortunatus, at Charlieu, was an imposing structure, erected within forty miles of Cluny by the Cluniac order, during the very period which separated the two churches of Cluny. Modern archaeologists know it only as an almost complete ruin. If its architectural features could be adequately reconstructed, it might constitute an illuminating example of the type of church architecture through which the transition was made from the First Romanesque to the Great Romanesque style. This was the purpose of the present study. But the results obtained are of more than historical interest, for it can be justly said that from the ruins at Charlieu has arisen the image of one of the most beautiful churches ever created by Burgundian genius.

## II. HISTORY OF THE MONASTERY

Charlieu lies in the valley of the Sornin, in southern Burgundy. Since the Middle Ages this region has been called the Forez—a name arising, according to an old legend,<sup>10</sup> from the heavy forest which then covered it. However, it was not always a timbered area. In Roman times most of the valley was apparently cultivated and it seems to have contained many flourishing villas.<sup>11</sup> But during the period of the civil wars and barbarian invasions, the population gradually dwindled, and in the ninth century the valley had become largely

4. Martin Marrier and André Duchesne, *Bibliotheca Cluniacensis*, Paris, 1614, col. 1820. Jean Mabillon, *Acta sanctorum ordinis S. Benedicti*, 2nd ed., Venice, 1733, VI, p. 603.

5. Victor Mortet, *Recueil des textes relatifs à l'histoire de l'architecture*, Paris, 1911, p. 127, note 2.

6. Mabillon, *op. cit.*, V, p. 134.

7. Marrier and Duchesne, *op. cit.*, col. 73.

8. *Ibid.*, col. 73; Edouard Jeannez, *La colonnade romane*

*de l'abbaye de Charlieu*, in *Bulletin de la Diana*, VI, 1891-92, pp. 57-58.

9. Marrier and Duchesne, *op. cit.*, col. 1820.

10. Maurice Dumoulin, *En pays Roannais*, Roanne, 1892, p. 9.

11. Vincent Durand, *Abrégé de l'histoire de Charlieu*, in *L'art roman à Charlieu et en Brionnais*, by Félix Thiollier in collaboration with E. Brossard, J. Dechelette, V. Durand, and E. Jeannez, Montbrison, 1892.

covered with a swampy forest.<sup>12</sup> According to an old tradition, this change in its appearance gave to the Sornin the name of "la vallée noire."<sup>13</sup>

The monastery at Charlieu was founded as an abbey in 872 by Ratbertus,<sup>14</sup> seventeenth bishop of Valence, and his brother Edward.<sup>15</sup> Here, on the banks of the Sornin, in a place which they called Carus Locus, the monastery of the order of St. Benedict was dedicated to Sts. Stephen and Fortunatus. Fortunatus was the saint of Valence, as is shown by a document of Cluny.<sup>16</sup> This adds to the names of the original two patron saints of the monastery, those of Felix and Achilles, who were companions in martyrdom of St. Fortunatus in Valence.

Bishop Ratbertus placed the abbey directly under the Holy See. This status was confirmed by a bull of Pope John VIII dated the fourth of the Ides of July, 873.<sup>17</sup> Three years later it was formally recognized by the prelates of France at the Council of Pontion.<sup>18</sup> The record of the Council states that Gausmar was the first abbot, and it explains (according to Severt's transcription of the original document) that the name Carus Locus, or "Cherlieu," had been given it in irony because the place completely lacked all natural attractions—*quem etiam locum, quod fuerit minus gratum, Carilocum vocari voluit*. But a recent writer<sup>19</sup> suggests that perhaps *minus* was mistakenly read in place of *nimis*, which signifies exceedingly or beyond measure, and would give the passage quite the opposite meaning. In 878 Pope John VIII took Charlieu under his protection.<sup>20</sup>

The new abbey soon found itself enriched by gifts. A royal benefactor, Duke Boso of Burgundy, in 879, shortly after being crowned King of Provence,<sup>21</sup> gave to Charlieu the little abbey of St. Martin.<sup>22</sup> Pride in this exalted patronage is evident from the persistence with which the monks of Charlieu sought to maintain the tradition that King Boso's sepulcher was in their church. Such was the vitality of the legend that a seventeenth century historian, who was born in the Forez, definitely states that Boso was buried there and specifically describes his tomb as being placed at the left of the choir under a huge cruciform stone.<sup>23</sup>

Lambert, bishop of Mâcon, made a gift to the abbey, of a chapel dedicated to St. Martin, contiguous with the *cymaterium* of Charlieu, and this was ratified in 887 by the Bishop Geroldus.<sup>24</sup> In the same year its property interests and its right of self-government were confirmed by the Council of Chalon-sur-Saône.<sup>25</sup> Many other gifts must have come to it in later years, for a council was held at Charlieu in 926, to effect the return to the abbey of the churches of Cublisse, Thizy, and Montagny, which had fallen into lay pos-

12. *Ibid.*, p. 3.

13. *Ibid.*, p. 3; Papiere Masson, *Descriptio fluminum Galliae quae Francia est*, 2nd ed., Paris, 1685, p. 18; Jean-Baptiste Desevelinges, *Histoire de la ville de Charlieu*, Roanne and Lyon, 1856, p. 7.

14. Durand, *Abrégé*, p. 3; Desevelinges, *Histoire*, p. 7.

15. As Durand points out on page three of his *Abrégé*, Ratbertus and Edward were not brothers of Duke Boso of Burgundy.

16. August Bernard and Alexander Bruel, *Recueil des chartes de l'abbaye de Cluny*, Paris, 1876-94, no. 730.

17. Durand, *op. cit.*, p. 3.

18. Jacques Severt, *Chronologia historica successionis hierarchicae archiantistitum Lugdunensis archiepiscopatus*, 2nd ed., Lyon, 1628, p. 186; Jean Mabillon, *Annales ordinis S. Benedicti*, Lucca, 1739-1745, III, p. 178.

19. Durand, *Abrégé*, p. 3.

20. Philip Jaffé, *Regesta pontificum Romanorum*, Berlin, 1851, no. 3175; Abbe Jean-Baptiste Martin, *Conciles et bullaire du diocèse de Lyon*, Lyon, 1905, no. 173.

21. Urbain Plancher, *Histoire générale et particulière de Bourgogne*, Dijon, 1739, I, p. 158.

22. *Ibid.*, I, p. 162; Stephen Baluze, *Capitularia Regum Francorum*, Paris, 1780, Appendix, II, col. 1506; Severt, *Chronologia*, II, p. 47; A. de Terrebasse, *Appendice à l'histoire de Charlieu*, in *Revue du Lyonnais*, XIV, 1857, pp. 449 ff.; Mabillon, *Annales*, III, p. 206.

23. Masson, *Descriptio*, p. 18. Sieur Chorier in *Recherches sur les antiquitez de la ville de Vienne*, Lyon, 1659, pp. 199-201, quotes the epitaph of King Boso which was then in the cathedral of Vienne. Terrebasse points out in his *Appendice* that there were probably two persons by the name of Boso. He also shows that the testament of Boso, quoted by Guillaume Paradin in *Annales de Bourgogne*, Lyon, 1566, p. 112, is a copy of a later document signed by Boso to which Paradin appended the name of Boso.

24. Bernard and Bruel, *Chartes de Cluny*, no. 31.

25. Severt, *Chronologia*, II, pp. 49-50; Philip Labbé and Gabriel Cossart, *Sacrosancta concilia . . . curante Nicolao Coleti*, Venice, 1728-33, XI, p. 575.



session.<sup>26</sup> It had evidently become an abbey of some importance.

But soon afterward, in 932, the pope (John XI), interested in the reform of the Benedictine order as practiced in the more recently founded monastery of Cluny, placed Charlieu under the direction of the Cluniac order.<sup>27</sup> From this time its history becomes merged in that of the expanding monastic empire of Cluny. Charlieu was one of its earliest acquisitions, and seems always to have been considered one of its chief holdings. In a long series of documents listing and confirming the possessions of Cluny, of which the bull of Leo VII (936-39) is the earliest,<sup>28</sup> Carus Locus is always one of those first mentioned.

Cluny was often able to afford Charlieu protection against the encroachments of the secular lords of the region. About 950, one Sobo<sup>29</sup> wrongfully seized the abbey of Charlieu, but afterward returned it to Aymard, abbot of Cluny. At the Council of Anse,<sup>30</sup> in 994, St. Odilo, successor to Aymard, obtained a decree by the terms of which it was forbidden for any military chief or any secular lord to build any fortifications on the lands belonging to Cluny or to remove from or introduce into the castle and town of Cluny and of Charlieu any livestock whatsoever. In the second quarter of the eleventh century, a knight by the name of Gerard, in the presence of the archbishop Odolric of Lyon,<sup>31</sup> was forced to renounce certain tribute which he had been levying in the adjacent regions and towns belonging to Charlieu.

As Cluny extended its power and prestige it would be natural that its abbots should wish to assume titles which would exalt their rank as chiefs of a great order. For this reason, or for some other now unknown, the abbeys subject to Cluny were reduced to priories, and the heads of these houses were demoted to priors. Just when this change was made at Charlieu, in order to lower its formal position in the Cluniac hierarchy, is not exactly known. The manuscript of Gerard, dating from before the middle of the eleventh century, refers to the "prior" of Charlieu. But modern authors writing on the history of Cluny hold the opinion that it occurred during the abbacy of St. Hugh, which continued from 1049 to 1109.<sup>32</sup>

Historical documents relating to the monastery contain no references whatsoever to the form of the ninth century church and monastery buildings erected by Gausmar, the first abbot of Charlieu. Nor can it be determined from such sources whether it was because the church had been damaged or destroyed as a result of troubles with the lay powers of the region, or whether it was for some other reason, that the original structure was replaced after Charlieu had come under the control of Cluny.

Some documents, however, refer in general terms to the reconstruction of Charlieu during the eleventh century. The earliest reference occurs in the life of St. Odilo, abbot of Cluny from 994 to 1048, recorded about the year 1050 by Jotsaldus, a monk of Souvigny. The passage, which indicates that the extensive building operations carried on in many of the Cluniac dependencies included Charlieu, reads, according to the different editors who published documents of the Middle Ages, in various ways as follows:

Marrier and Duchesne, *Bibliotheca Cluniacensis*, col. 1820:

Iam vero de omnibus Monasteriis suis. Quod Paterniacus, ob Dei amorem Genitricis,

26. Severt, *op. cit.*, I, p. 194; Labbé and Cossart, *op. cit.*, XI, p. 798.

27. Mabillon, *Acta*, V, p. 134.

28. *Ibid.*, V, p. 317.

29. *Ibid.*, V, p. 317; Bernard and Bruel, *Chartes de Cluny*, no. 730; Severt, *Chronologia*, II, p. 69.

30. Edmund Martène and Ursini Durand, *Thesaurus novus anecdotorum*, Paris, 1717, col. 73.

31. Severt, *Chronologia*, I, 205.

32. According to Jean Beyssac it was done by Pascal II in 1100 (*Province ecclésiastique de Lyon*, in *Archives de la France monastique*, XXXVII, Paris, 1933, pp. 86-87).

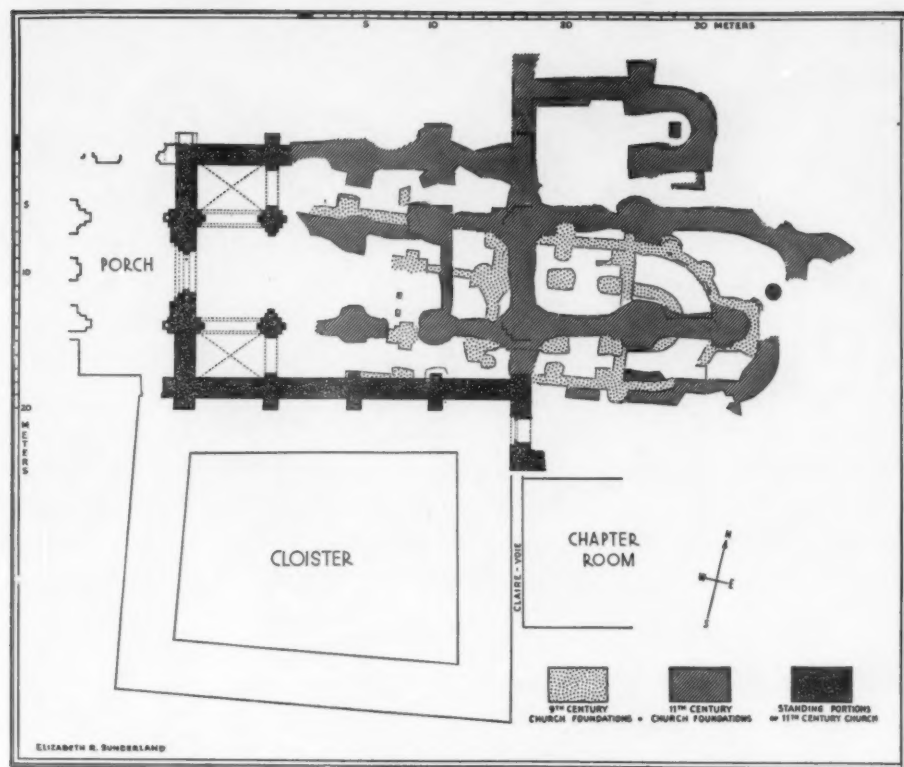


FIG. 1—Charlieu, *St.-Fortunatus*: Extant Remains; Plan

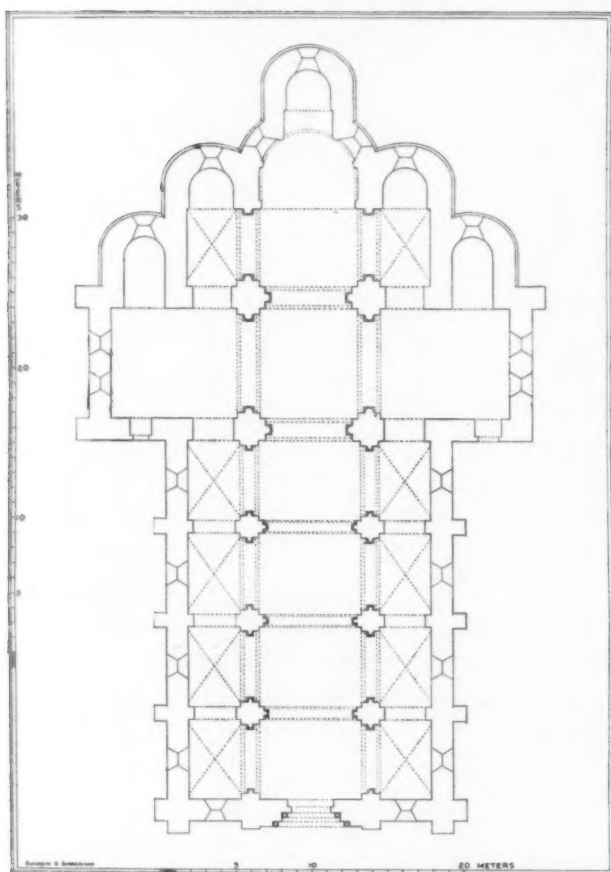


FIG. 2—Charlieu, *St.-Fortunatus*: Restored Plan

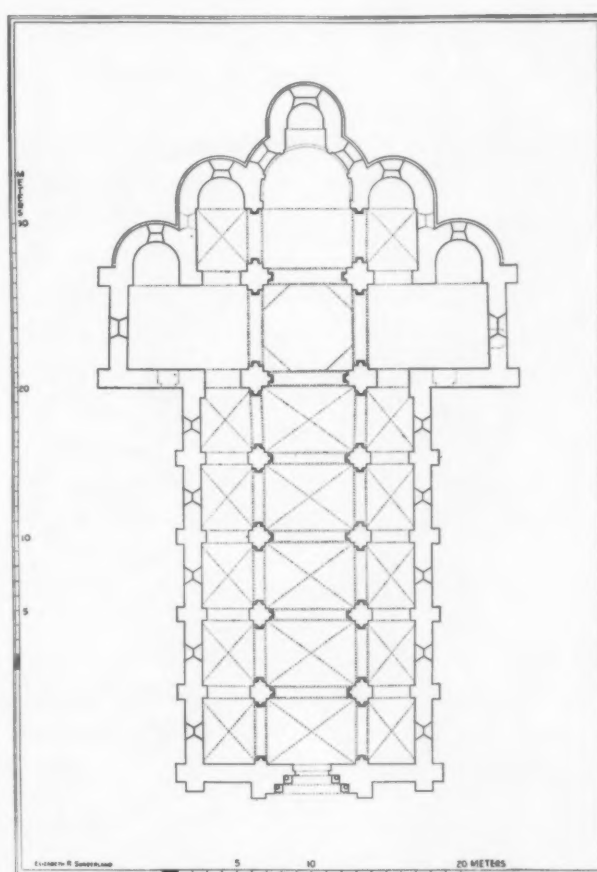


FIG. 3—Anzy-le-Duc: Plan of Church



FIG. 4—Nave: *Transverse Section (left) and West Elevation (right)*

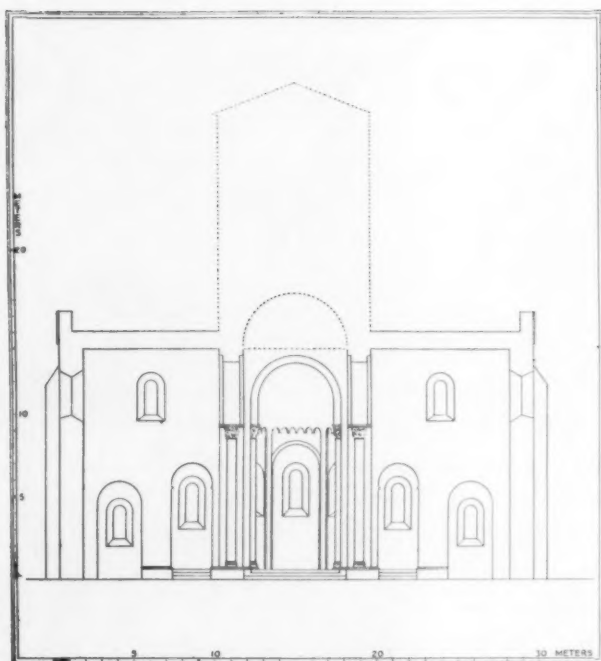


FIG. 5—Transept: *Longitudinal Section*



FIG. 6—Apse: *Exterior Elevation*

*Charlieu, St.-Fortunatus: Restoration of the 11th Century Church; Drawings*



sibi delectabilis locus. Romanum Monasterium à fundo constructam, locus sancti Victoris Geneuensis, praeter suam antiquam et nobilem Ecclesiam. Ex toto etiam suo tempore constructus Carus-locus. Amberta, valde celebris Ecclesia. Riuus ex toto. Celsinias. Siluiniacus, translata firmitas. Monasterium sancti Saturnini. Apud Papiam sancti Maioli nobilissimus locus. Et praeter haec diuersarum Ecclesiarum multiplex numerus. Hec omnia illius industria, suo tempore in aedificiis, in possessionibus et ornamentis, amplissime dilatata creverunt.

Mabillon, *Acta sanctorum ordinis S. Benedicti*, VI, 603:

Iam vero de omnibus monasteriis suis; quid Paterniacus ob Dei-Genetricis amorem, sibi delectabilis locus? Romanum monasterium a fundo constructum, locus sancti Victoris Genevensis, praeter suam antiquam et nobilem ecclesiam ex toto etiam suo tempore constructus; Carus locus, Amberta valde celebris ecclesia, Rivis ex toto, Celsinias, Silviniacus, translata firmitas, monasterium sancti Saturnini, apud Papiam sancti Maioli nobilissimus locus; et praeter haec diversarum ecclesiarum multiplex numerus: haec omnis illius industria suo tempore in aedificiis, in possessionibus et ornamentis amplissime dilatata creverunt.

Mortet, *Recueil des textes relatifs à l'histoire de l'architecture*, p. 128:

Iam vero de omnibus monasteriis suis. Quid Paterniacus, ob Dei Genitricis amorem sibi delectabilis locus! Romanum monasterium a fundo constructum! Locus sancti Victoris Genevensis praeter suam antiquam et nobilem ecclesiam. Ex toto etiam suo tempore constructus Carus locus, Amberta, valde celebris ecclesia, Rivius, ex toto Celsinias, Silviniacus, translata Firmitas, monasterium sancti Saturnini, apud Papiam, sancti Maioli nobilissimus locus, et praeter haec diversarum ecclesiarum multiplex numerus! Haec omnis illius industria, suo tempore, in aedificiis, in possessionibus et ornamentis amplissime dilatata creverunt.

The first of these excerpts dates from the seventeenth, the second from the eighteenth, and the third from the twentieth century. The variation in the punctuation of the three texts raises the question whether the phrase *ex toto etiam suo tempore constructus* relates to Carus Locus or to the monastery of St. Victor of Geneva. Although the editors of the first two texts had before them the original manuscript, Mortet did not, because it had been destroyed. But the punctuation represents only the judgment of the editors, since medieval manuscripts were not punctuated. It is significant that the careful Mortet, although citing Mabillon, so punctuates the passage that the phrase modifies Carus Locus, thereby giving approval to the reading that Carus Locus was entirely rebuilt in the time of St. Odilo. Furthermore, since Jotsaldus was so particular to state in the case of St. Victor that St. Odilo had constructed the monastery "except for its ancient and stately church," it is probable that he would have made like exception, if such existed, when he proceeded to describe immediately thereafter what St. Odilo had accomplished in Charlieu. But in any event rebuilding was begun at Charlieu under St. Odilo. On the evidence of Jotsaldus, the existing Romanesque *claire-voie* (Fig. 11) was built in the period of Odilo's abbacy, which, as noted, extended from 994 to 1048.<sup>33</sup> The fact that this colonnade is a continuation of the line of the outer western transept wall, without deviation, would indicate

33. Jeannez in *La colonnade romane*, pp. 57-58, on the basis of Duchesne's opinion in col. 73 of the *Bibliotheca Cluniacensis*, thinks it must have been built after Gerard's renunciation of tribute (see text, *supra*), hence in the period following 1031, the year in which Odolric became arch-

bishop of Lyon. However, it is impossible to determine from the document how long or to what extent Gerard oppressed Charlieu. It may very well be that his actions had nothing to do with the rebuilding of the monastery and that it was begun before he came on the scene.

that these parts of the church and monastery buildings were laid out at one time. Also the cut stone masonry which marks the termination on the one side, of the transept wall, and, on the other, of the *claire-voie* wall (Fig. 12) shows no appreciable differentiation in workmanship.<sup>34</sup> The same type of cut stone work is to be seen round both transept doors and in the wall respond at the southwest angle of the transept (Fig. 13). It is characterized, in comparison with that of the western part of the church, by a certain irregularity in the height of stone courses and in the width of the blocks (compare Figs. 12 and 13 with Fig. 14). And, finally, if Jotsaldus' statement is taken to mean that Carus Locus was entirely built in the time of St. Odilo, it must follow that by 1048, when Odilo died, there was enough done on the new church to make it possible to hold divine services. This would necessitate a church completed at least through the transepts.<sup>35</sup> It is reasonable to conclude that the eastern parts of the church, that is to say the apses and the transept, were built under St. Odilo.<sup>36</sup> The construction continued under Odilo's successor, St. Hugh, until the last decade of the eleventh century, and the church was apparently consecrated in 1094.<sup>37</sup>

Documents from periods subsequent to the consecration of the church give little information regarding the buildings. The curious account of the vision of a young novice-to-be of Charlieu, in the "Book of Miracles"<sup>38</sup> of Peter the Venerable, abbot of Cluny from 1122 to 1158, indicates that in Romanesque times there were two cloisters at Charlieu, a larger one on the site of the present Gothic cloister, and a smaller one on the site of the Gothic chapter house, the two being separated by the ancient Romanesque *claire-voie* mentioned above. Many other items of interest are found in the long series of papal bulls which from time to time confirmed Cluny in its possession of Charlieu, and which, during the thirteenth century, inveighed against the Benedictine monks of Charlieu in their efforts to drive out the Franciscans.<sup>39</sup> References to Charlieu also occur in the records of the councils of the diocese of Lyon.<sup>40</sup> But among all these data not one item has anything to do with the structure of either of the two churches or of the monastic buildings. No reference has been found anywhere to the erection of the porch which still stands at the west end of the church and which must have been built in the twelfth century. Desevelinges says that the church had undergone no change since its building, and reports that the bell tower was struck by lightning in 1638.<sup>41</sup> Vague references to parts of the church are found

34. The small stones are perhaps more carefully laid in courses in the transept wall than in the *claire-voie* wall, although this is difficult to determine with certainty because of the partial plaster covering on the latter. This would indicate a later date for the transept. But the differences are too slight and the similarities too great between the two parts to make it possible to assume that there was more than a very short interval between their periods of construction. The *claire-voie* was very likely built as a trial piece for the sculpture to be used in the church.

35. Perhaps the cross wall between the easternmost piers of the nave (Fig. 10) indicates a strengthening of the foundations to keep the completed transept stable and to support a temporary first bay of the nave.

36. The late eleventh century character of the capitals still in place in the western bay of the church at Charlieu (Fig. 14) has made some scholars unwilling to believe that Odilo could have had anything to do with the church. Jeannez says: "L'église . . . fut vraisemblablement commencé dans la seconde moitié du XI<sup>e</sup> siècle. Elle n'existait certainement pas à la mort de Saint Odilon." (*L'Art roman à Charlieu et en Brionnais*, p. 47.) However, in recent years, Jean Valléry-Radot (*Les analogies des églises de Charlieu et d'Anzy-le-Duc*, in *Bulletin Monumental*, 1929, pp. 243-

247) and André Rhein (in his article on Charlieu in the *Congrès Archéologique* of 1936, pp. 422-430) have agreed that the eastern parts could have been built under St. Odilo.

37. Desevelinges, *Histoire*, p. 21: "Cette église fut consacrée, en 1094, sous le vocable de saint Fortuné, par les archevêques de Lyon et de Bourges, et l'évêque de Mâcon, en présence du légat du Saint-Siège, de l'archevêque de Tolède, de l'évêque de Saint-Jacques et d'autres prélats qui assistèrent à la cérémonie, pour la rendre plus solennelle." He gives as a reference *Mémoire manuscrit des Bénédictins contre le curé Dupont*. This document has disappeared. But the fact that Dalmace, bishop of Compostela, was certainly in France in 1095 attending the Council of Clermont and obtaining from Urban II a bull shifting the episcopal seat from Iria to Compostela (see Lucien Paulot, *Urbain II*, Paris, 1903, pp. 307, 357), and thus could have been in France the year before, gives an air of authenticity to the reference.

38. Marrier and Duchesne, *Bibliotheca Cluniacensis*, col. 1324.

39. J.-B. Martin, *Conciles et bullaire*.

40. *Ibid.*

41. Desevelinges, *Histoire*, p. 60.

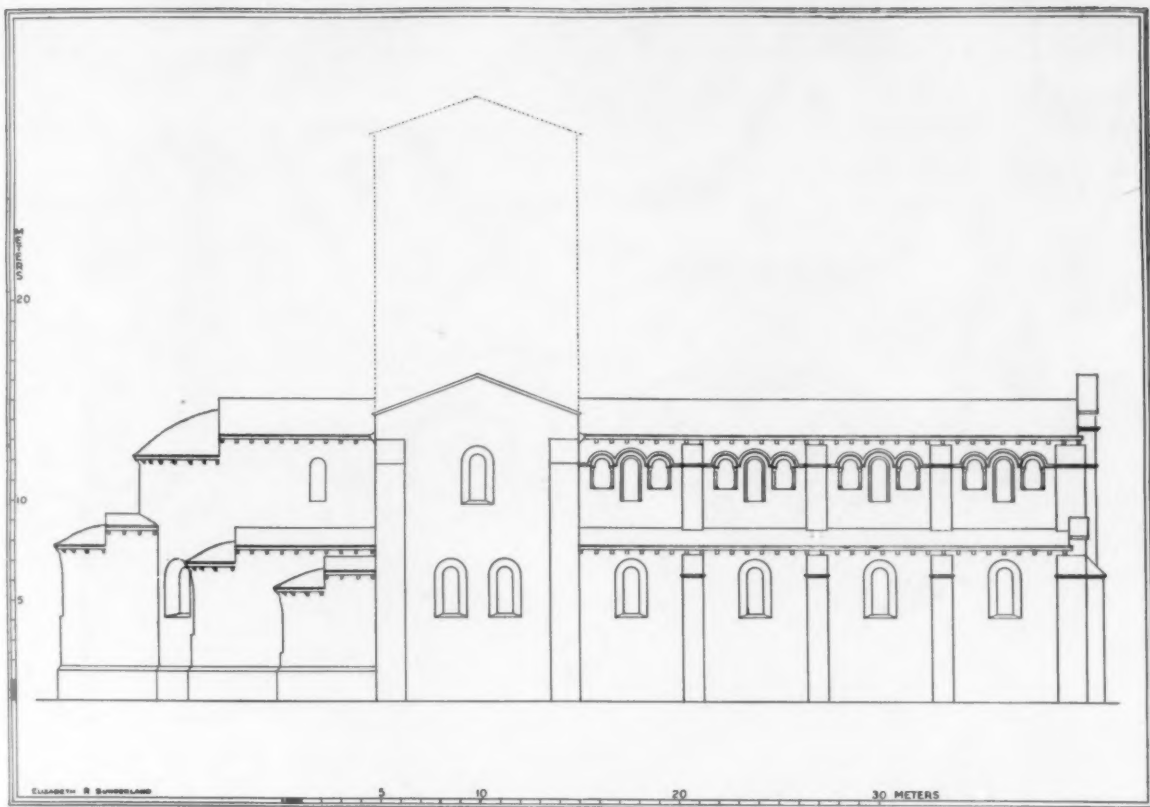


FIG. 7—North Side: Exterior Elevation

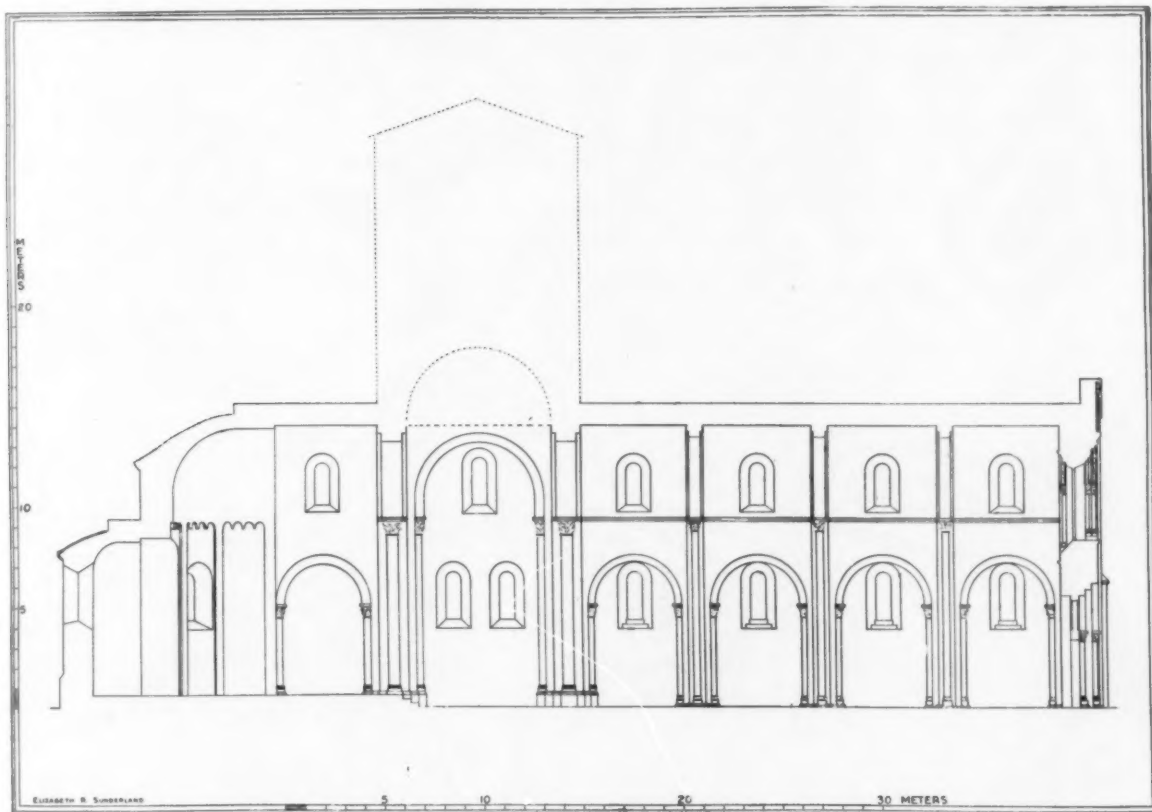


FIG. 8—South Side: Longitudinal Section

*Charlieu, St.-Fortunatus: Restoration of the 11th Century Church; Drawings*





FIG. 9—*Western Wall and Foundations, Looking West*



FIG. 10—*Foundations of 9th and 11th Century Churches, Looking East*  
*Charlieu, St.-Fortunatus: Extant Ruins*

in the records of its sale<sup>42</sup> in 1795.<sup>43</sup> Two inconsistent plans of the monastery, one made in 1769<sup>44</sup> and the other in 1790,<sup>45</sup> contribute practically nothing. There are also two nineteenth century engravings, which throw light upon some of the problems. But sufficient documentary evidence upon which to base any attempt at a complete graphic reconstruction does not appear to exist.

Curiously enough, the secularization of the monastery of Charlieu occurred before the French revolution. Submission to the seventeenth century reform of the Cluniac rule of life had been refused by the monks of Charlieu,<sup>46</sup> and the laxness in their discipline led the king, on March 19, 1787,<sup>47</sup> to issue letters patent ordering the suppression of this monastery along with eleven others. A year later the pope, Pius VI, in his turn, outlawed the old rule,<sup>48</sup> and with its suppression of course went those houses still clinging to it. These orders were executed in 1790.<sup>49</sup> Thus the monastery of Charlieu came to an end through peaceful means at a time when all others in France were about to be closed by violence and revolution. The records of the monastery, however, suffered the same fate as those of many of the other religious houses of France. On the ninth of September, 1792, a mob burst into the library in the upper story of the narthex of the church, seized all the documents preserved there, and destroyed them in one great fire in the court (now the street) below.<sup>50</sup> For the art historian it was a calamity. In a few hours there disappeared forever manuscripts which might have given us invaluable information regarding the history and construction of one of the most imposing churches in southern Burgundy.

In 1795 the church itself was sold by the government of France for its value as building material. It was disposed of in two lots,<sup>51</sup> one comprising the narthex and westernmost bay of the nave, and the other the remaining three bays of the nave and the whole eastern part of the church. Subsequent purchasers of the second lot demolished it in 1800,<sup>52</sup> razing it almost entirely to the level of the rough foundations, and erected other buildings on the site. The western bay and narthex were allowed to remain standing, but with the passage of time they fell gradually into decay and the high nave vault eventually collapsed. The last private owner of the porch left directions in his will for extensive repairs and restoration of the structure.<sup>53</sup> The work was carried out in 1853,<sup>54</sup> unfortunately with such thoroughness as to destroy entirely the traces of the nave vault which must have existed on the inner side of the façade. In 1877-78 additional repairs to the porch were made necessary as the result of damage from the infiltration of water through the inferior roofing tiles used in 1853. At the same time the houses which had been built in the aisle bays attached to the porch were cleared away and the aisle bays carefully restored.<sup>55</sup>

42. According to A. Barbat, *Charlieu pendant la Révolution*, Roanne, 1913, Pierre Ray bought the church and the cloister (p. 142) and Thomas Cognet bought the porch of the church (p. 144). Later (p. 415) he qualifies the description of the part Ray acquired by saying that he bought the church "sauf le porche et les deux travées du fond, lot vendu à Thomas Cognet."

43. A. Barbat, *Charlieu—ses monuments—son abbaye*, Paris, n.d., p. 42.

44. This plan is in the Mairie of Charlieu (according to the report on the excavations at Charlieu by Thiollier, de Mijolla, and Brassart in the *Bulletin de la Diana*, Montbrison, XXII, no. 10, July-December, 1926) and is reproduced in the *Bulletin de la Diana*, II, and Barbat, *Charlieu pendant la révolution*.

45. This plan is in the Archives de la Loire (according to *ibid.*) and is reproduced in *L'Art roman à Charlieu et en Brionnais* and in Barbat, *Charlieu pendant la révolution*.

46. Desevelinges, *Histoire*, p. 63.

47. *Ibid.*, p. 66.

48. *Ibid.*, p. 65; F. M., *Monographie des communes de l'arrondissement de Roanne*, Charlieu and Roanne, 1901, p. 226.

49. Desevelinges, *Histoire*, p. 70.

50. *Ibid.*, p. 71.

51. Barbat, *Charlieu pendant la révolution*, pp. 142, 144, 415.

52. Barbat, *Charlieu pendant la révolution*, pp. 416-417.

53. Abbé Henri Monot, *Charlieu*, Roanne, 1934, p. 59.

54. Jean-Baptiste Desevelinges, *De la restauration de l'église des Bénédictins de Charlieu*, in *Revue du Lyonnais*, VI, pp. 191-198. The description of the work carried out is couched in such general terms that it is of little use to the archaeologist.

55. Edouard Jeannez, *Rapport sur les travaux exécutés ou projetés pour la conservation des monuments historiques du Roannais*, in *Bulletin de la Diana*, II, 1881-84, pp. 67-69.

In the 1880's a local clock-maker, probably interested in the church as a result of its recent repairs, drew a conjectural plan and elevation of the church from such documentary and graphic material as he found available. These drawings now hang in the old library room in the second floor of the twelfth century porch. The two drawings are not consistent with one another, for the ground plan omits the transeptal chapels shown in the elevation.

In 1926, the houses on the site of the church having been removed, excavations were begun. The whole site was explored with the exception of the region of the south transept, and the exposed foundations were left uncovered.

### III. PRESENT CONDITION OF THE RUINS

Different parts of the extant remains of the church of St. Fortunatus vary considerably in completeness of preservation. Of the eastern chapels nothing but portions of the rough foundations were brought to light by the excavations (Fig. 10).

The transepts are somewhat better preserved. The west wall of the south transept still stands, to a height considerably above the arch of the doorway leading into the cloister (Figs. 9, 10, and 13). The door was rebuilt, on the cloister side, in Gothic times, and the round Romanesque arch was changed to a pointed one by resetting the old voussoirs. In the upper courses of the wall the stones have been relaid in mortar, but the original form of the wall and door seems not to have been changed. In the north transept the lowest courses of cut stone round the west doorway are still in place, and the apsidole opening from the east side is complete even including the base for the altar (Fig. 10). The massive foundations of the four crossing piers exist in their entirety, and on the two toward the west the outlines of the cut stone pier bases may still be partly traced (Figs. 9 and 10).

West of the crossing the remains are much more complete. The whole lower part of the south aisle wall, with its interior responds and exterior pier buttresses (Fig. 9), escaped destruction, and the upper part has been restored to a height of approximately four and a half meters. The rough foundations of all the nave piers have been preserved, and one of them (the second pier from the west in the north line) still supports fragmentary bits of cut stone. The westernmost bay of each aisle is still standing, complete to nave and aisle archways and groin vaults (Fig. 14).

Lastly the whole west facade still exists (Figs. 15 and 16), and forms one side of the two-story porch which, on stylistic grounds, is believed to belong to the twelfth century.<sup>56</sup> This porch (Fig. 17) is of special interest to students of medieval art, for on the north door is a magnificent series of late Romanesque sculptures (Fig. 18). These are stylized to a point almost beyond the limits of representation, and form a supremely decorative version of the usual Romanesque iconographic scheme. In the tympanum is a Christ in majesty, accompanied by angels and the four symbols of the evangelists. On the lintel below are fifteen seated figures, a Madonna and two angels in the center with the twelve apostles ranged in groups of six on either side. More figures above the jambs continue the band of the lintel without a break (Fig. 18). Among them on the left is a figure identified as King Boso,<sup>57</sup> bearing in his hands an aedicule, or small model of a church, which he raises in a gesture of presentation toward the Christ on the tympanum (Fig. 22). On the right is the counterpart figure thought to be Bishop Ratbertus,<sup>58</sup> who lifts in his hands another and smaller aedicule (Fig. 18).

56. Camille Enlart, *Manuel d'archéologie française, Architecture religieuse*, 3d ed., Paris, 1927, I, p. 444; Émile Mâle, *L'Art religieux au XII<sup>e</sup> siècle en France*, 3d ed., Paris, 1928, pp. 33-34; Arthur Kingsley Porter, *Romanesque Sculpture of the Pilgrimage Roads*, Boston, 1923, pp. 121-122; Jean Virey, *Les églises romanes de*

*l'ancien diocèse de Mâcon*, Mâcon, 1935, p. 144; Monot, *Charlieu*, p. 21.

57. Virey, *Les églises romanes*, p. 138; Monot, *Charlieu*, p. 24.

58. Virey, *op. cit.*, p. 138; Monot, *op. cit.*, p. 24.





FIG. 11—Looking North

*Charlieu, St. Fortunatus: Claire-Voie*

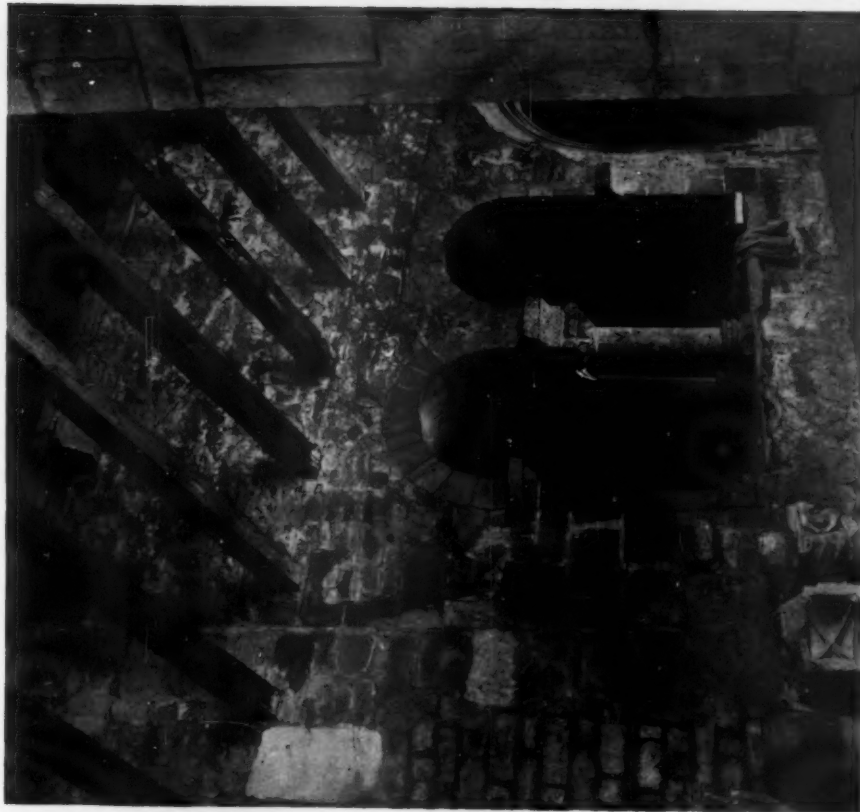


FIG. 12—Northwest Pair of Arches



FIG. 13—*South Transept Door, Looking West*



FIG. 14—*South Aisle, Westernmost Bay, Looking South*

*Charlieu, St.-Fortunatus*

The cloister, rebuilt in late-Gothic times, lies along the south aisle of the church. To the east, separated from the cloister by a series of small Romanesque arches supported on columns (Fig. 11), is the chapter-room which also dates from the late Gothic period. This row of arches, appropriately called a *claire-voie* by the French, is the only part of the monastic buildings having any relation to the problem of reconstructing the eleventh century church. It dates apparently from the time of St. Odilo<sup>59</sup> and, as already stated, continues without deviation the line of the western wall of the transept. The Romanesque impost block still projecting on the north side of the present door into the chapter room (Figs. 11 and 12), at a lower level than the imposts of the arcade, shows that in St. Odilo's time, also, a doorway afforded a passage through the *claire-voie*, in very nearly the position of the present one.

#### IV. PROPOSED RESTORATION OF THE CHURCH

The excavations brought to light not only the foundations of the eleventh century church, but also those of an earlier church, smaller, at a lower level, and oriented on a slightly different axis. The lower courses of the masonry of this earlier building were largely incorporated in the foundations of the eleventh century structure, and they doubtless belonged to the original abbey church, which was built in the ninth century.

When the ruins are examined the two sets of foundations seem inextricably confused with one another (Fig. 10), and the writer found it necessary to make a large number of triangulation measurements from various fixed points in order to disentangle them (Fig. 1)

The plan of the earlier building seems to indicate that it was originally a church of the simple type so common in the ninth century, comprising a rectangular nave and a smaller rectangular sanctuary. This form was elaborated, perhaps in the tenth century, by the addition of a semi-circular axial apse, and, possibly at a still later date, by the construction of the ambulatory around it. This ambulatory, which has an axial apsidal chapel, forms the most striking feature of the church.

The plan of the eleventh century church, reconstructed from the incomplete rough foundations, shows a basilica characterized by a comparatively short nave of four bays flanked by single aisles, salient transepts, and a developed sanctuary with many apses arranged in echelon. A deep chapel opens off the eastern side of each transept and off the eastern end of each aisle, and a larger apse with a deep apsidiole placed on its axis terminates the nave. The plan of the sanctuary is unusual because of the presence of the axial apsidiole, and occurs in one other church only, that of the priory of Anzy-le-Duc<sup>60</sup> in the diocese of Autun, some fifteen miles northwest of Charlieu (Fig. 3). The two eighteenth century plans, already mentioned, had produced a controversy of long standing regarding this part of the church, for the plan of 1769 seemed to indicate an ambulatory, but that of 1790 showed only an apsidiole which opened from the main apse. A study of the foundations proves the latter to be correct. The showing in both plans of a rectangular chamber opening off the south transept probably refers to a later reconstruction, for the original plan must have called for a symmetrical disposition of the apses, and this would require an apse on the south transept corresponding to that shown to exist on the north transept.

The bases of the crossing piers are very fragmentary. The western pair have two setbacks on the aisle sides which would provide for pilasters. Corresponding pilasters are still visible on the aisle sides of the piers of the western bay of the nave (Fig. 9). The founda-

59. Jeannez, *La colonnade romane*.

60. Since this striking feature is to be found also in the earlier church at Charlieu, it would seem that Charlieu

originated the plan of the eleventh century church and that Anzy-le-Duc copied it.



tions show that the crossing piers were much larger than the piers in the nave, doubtless because of the great weight of the crossing tower. But it cannot be determined, on the basis of the fragments still in place, whether on the sides not facing the aisles the crossing piers were flanked by pilasters or by engaged columns. In the *claire-voie*, however, which was built in St. Odilo's time, there are columns with monumental sculpture. From this it might reasonably be assumed that the crossing piers, also built during his abbacy, were similarly decorated with sculpture, and were probably flanked on three sides, like the piers of the nave, by half-columns surmounted by sculptured capitals.

Such piers actually exist in the crossing and choir bay of Anzy-le-Duc,<sup>61</sup> which, as already pointed out, seems to have copied Charlieu in plan. That Anzy's imitation extended to the use of columns gains credibility from the fact that the capitals and bases of the eastern part of Anzy-le-Duc show a style similar to, but more developed than, that of the capitals and bases in the *claire-voie* of Charlieu (Fig. 20).

The total inside length of the basilica of Charlieu is approximately 48.5 meters, and the inside width of nave and aisles is together almost exactly 16 meters. Similar measurements of the transept give a length, north and south, of 26.25 meters, and a width of 7.3 meters. It is a splendidly proportioned plan, the work of a master architect (Fig. 2).

The reconstruction of the elevations of the church presents a more complex problem. It seems certain that Charlieu had a bell tower over the crossing. This was an almost universal feature of the Romanesque churches of Burgundy, and the foundations of the crossing piers are heavy enough to carry such a load. But there has been a persistent tradition that the church had four other towers. A local historian writing some forty years after the destruction of the abbey, states definitely that there were five bell towers, one at the crossing, and two at each extremity of the transept.<sup>62</sup> The excavations have not verified his statement. No foundations exist larger than those necessary for pier buttresses at the end of the excavated north transept, and the one visible angle of the south transept abuts directly upon the Romanesque *claire-voie* in the cloister. Thus neither end of the transept could possibly have been surmounted by towers. Inasmuch as no authority is cited by this nineteenth century writer, it seems probable that he only repeated a tradition of the locality which might have been derived from the fact that five bells were sold at the time of its demolition.<sup>63</sup> *Cloche* could easily be mistaken for *clocher*. A document concerning the closing of the church, dated 1792, describes four keys handed over to the mayor of the town by the last prior, three of them to various doors of the church, and a fourth the key to "the bell tower."<sup>64</sup> In a document relating to the razing of the church, the use of gunpowder for that purpose is expressly forbidden, on account of the danger to surrounding buildings involved in the destruction, by means of explosives of a bell tower of such great height and size.<sup>65</sup> One tower only is mentioned. The conclusion can fairly be drawn that only one tower existed.

Two forms of crossing towers were current in Burgundy at this period, one rectangular and the other octagonal. Anzy-le-Duc, which seems to have copied Charlieu on many points, is surmounted by a very elaborate and beautiful octagonal tower of several stages, which, however, must belong to the twelfth century. Some evidence as to the shape of the tower at Charlieu is offered by the sculptures of the twelfth century porch. The aedicule held in the hands of Ratbertus seems to represent a small, simple structure, perhaps the

61. There are no dates known for the construction of Anzy-le-Duc, but both the masonry and the sculpture decoration indicate that the transept and apses were built in a period very much earlier than the nave (Figs. 20, 25, 26, and 27).

62. Desevelinges, *Histoire*, p. 20.

63. Barbat, *Charlieu pendant la révolution*, p. 166.

64. *Ibid.*, p. 134.

65. *Ibid.*, p. 415.



FIG. 15—Main Entry, Looking Southeast



FIG. 16—Upper Window, Looking Northeast  
Charlieu, St.-Fortunatus: Western Wall; Details

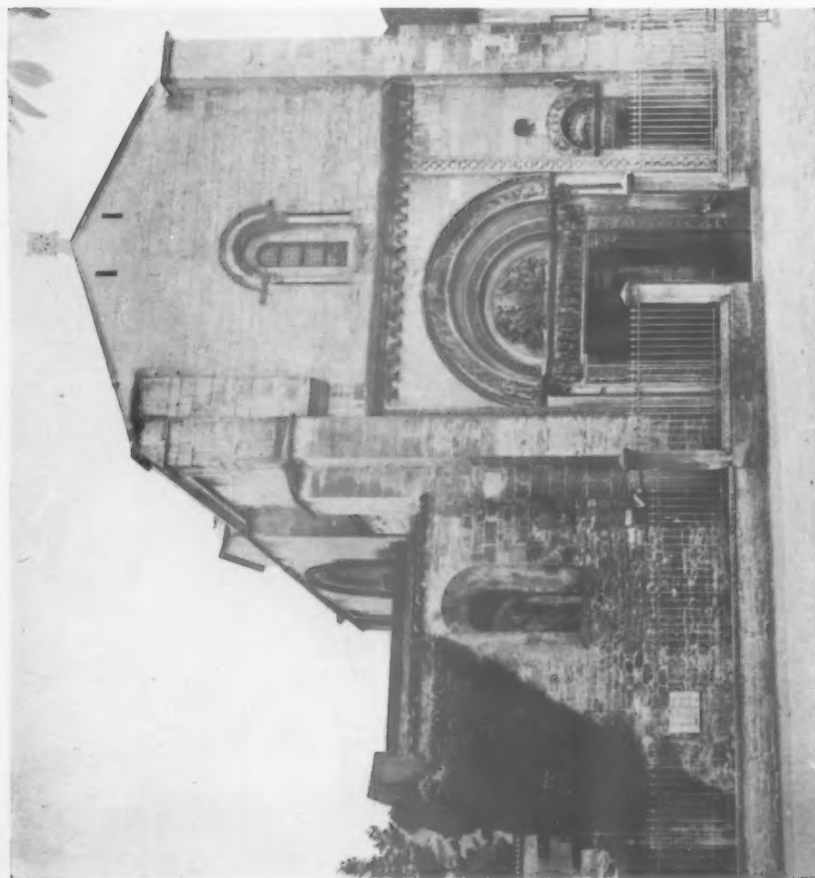


FIG. 17—12th Century Porch



FIG. 18—Lintel and Tympanum; Detail of Fig. 17

*Charlieu, St.-Fortunatus: Extant North Side*



first church of Charlieu. It is very much battered, and consists of little more than the stump of a rectangular tower with the indication of an oculus in the gable. The better preserved model in the hands of Boso merits more attention, because it appears to be a carefully cut miniature of a fully developed eleventh century church (Fig. 22). The aisles have been sheared off as a concession to the relatively small size of the sculpture, but the nave and choir bay, including the clerestory windows, the transept with its three windows and pier buttresses, and the concluding apse are carved in meticulous detail. There is a broken stump of a crossing tower, clearly identifiable as rectangular in form. A third aedicule carved on a capital of the north window of the twelfth century porch also has a rectangular tower.

Finally there is the evidence offered by the foundations (Fig. 1). The crossing is not an exact square, but a rectangle with a longer east and west axis.<sup>66</sup> It is not a common practice to place an octagonal tower over anything but a square bay. Thus it is probable that the great crossing tower of Charlieu was rectangular, not octagonal, and perhaps of the two-stage type which was so common in that region of Burgundy. The space under the tower was probably covered by a cloistered vault on squinches in the usual Burgundian manner.

The aedicule in the hands of Boso is of special interest in connection with the reconstruction of the apses of the east end. The sculptor has rendered even the courses of masonry with admirable precision in this miniature model, and round the apse, under the deeply drilled windows, he has carved with the most painstaking care a projecting band or ridge (Fig. 22). It is difficult to believe that this unique detail would have been so carefully executed if it had no real significance. Can it be interpreted as an indication of the treatment of the apses of the church? An affirmative answer is strongly indicated by comparing the treatment of the apses at Anzy-le-Duc, where, instead of the pilasters or pier buttresses common to the region, there is a thickened wall surmounted by a heavy water table (Fig. 27). The projection shown round the apse of Boso's aedicule would be an effective means of representing such a construction, and the deep undercutting below the band would serve the purpose of producing a dark revealing shadow, thereby making the form visible to a spectator standing below. The rough foundations of the east end of Charlieu confirm this theory, for there is no indication of any substructure which could support a system of pier buttresses.

The side elevations of the church can be reconstructed with considerable assurance. The aisle bays attached to the façade of the church still exist, with their double-splayed windows and groin vaults, but what features existed above the level of the aisle roof cannot be determined from the physical remains of the church. An indication as to what might have been the form is partially supplied by the aedicule in the hands of Boso. With the same precision as in the details of the apse, the sculptor has drilled windows in the nave and choir bay, high up under the roof, in clear distinction from the lower windows of the apse and transept. This tends to show a clerestory system of lighting.

The available graphic evidence regarding clerestory lighting of the nave has heretofore been unsatisfactory. An engraving of the westernmost bay of the nave and the twelfth century porch, made by Baugean, from a drawing executed by Bence prior to 1819,<sup>67</sup> before the collapse of the nave vault, has long been known to scholars, and was published in the *Bulletin Monumental* in 1929 (Fig. 23). Most writers on Charlieu, however, have been un-

66. Most rectangular crossing bays in Burgundy have a longer north and south axis. The scheme at Charlieu is therefore unusual.

67. Vallery-Radot in *Les analogies de Charlieu et d'Anzy-le-Duc*, states that Bence died in 1819.

willing to interpret what appears in this engraving as proof that there was direct light in the vault, because the side of the church not only rests in shadow, but is so much foreshortened in the view presented that it fails to show adequately a clerestory system. Furthermore, the under surface of the vault is treated in so sketchy and ill-defined a manner as to give no clearly readable indication of windows. Perhaps also the presence, in the engraving, of two arches on the exterior wall seems inconsistent with the existence of a single window, which is all that a church of this period could be expected to have in each bay. For these reasons writers on Charlieu have always insisted that there were no windows at all in the nave.<sup>68</sup>

New evidence bearing upon the problem has recently come to light in the form of an early nineteenth century engraving, by Gaucherel, apparently unpublished, which the writer discovered in 1937 (Fig. 24). It was found among the books and papers dealing with Charlieu, in the old library room of the monastery in the second story of the twelfth century porch. The nineteenth century graphic reconstruction of the church, now hanging in the library room, shows that the draftsman knew of this neglected engraving, and in the little museum at one side of the cloister there is a modern copy in pen drawing of the same engraving. The original drawing was made from a slightly different position from that of Bence, and gives an adequate view of the clerestory. What was practically undecipherable in Baugean's engraving is here clearly shown to be a long narrow window flanked by a shorter blind arch on either side. The window is placed so high up under the tiles of the roof that it must have been cut through the vault, not through the wall below it. This seems to furnish final and satisfactory proof that a clerestory, with windows penetrating the vault, existed at Charlieu.

Vaults with windows in penetration are not common in any region in the Romanesque period, though they do occur sporadically, especially in Burgundy. At Semur-en-Brionnais the transept and choir bay have the two-stage interior elevation of Charlieu, with windows opening through the vault (Fig. 28). The twelfth century church of Châteauneuf-sur-Sornin follows the same scheme down the whole length of the nave. Farther north in Burgundy the great church of Cluny employed this lighting system in the annular vault of the ambulatory, and Cistercian Fontenay used penetrations in the transept. The nave of the Cluniac monastery of Payerne in Switzerland has such openings to light the nave. In west France, the much reworked church of St. Hilaire of Poitiers had windows, now blocked up, penetrating the barrel vault of the transept. In Spain the transept of the First Romanesque church of San Quirico de Culera and the apse and the adjoining choir bay of the Great Romanesque cathedral church of Santiago<sup>69</sup> likewise have penetrations in the vaults to provide light.

A particularly interesting example of this kind of clerestory window is found in a Burgundian church at Beirut, Syria, now the chief mosque of the city, which was built about the

68. Vallery-Radot in *Les analogies de Charlieu et d'Anzy-le-Duc*, on the basis of Baugean's engraving, says: "La nef de Saint-Fortunat . . . était couverte d'un berceau plein cintre et n'était pas éclairée directement. C'était une nef sans fenêtres, qui ne prenait jour que par les baies des bas-côtes." André Rhein in his article on Charlieu in the *Congrès Archéologique* of 1936 says: "... un dessin de Bence . . . témoigne que la première travée, encore intacte à ce moment, était couverte d'un berceau en plein cintre et dépourvue de fenêtres."

69. Kenneth John Conant, *The Cathedral of Santiago of Compostela*, Cambridge, 1926, plate VI and fig. 32. I omit the Cluniac church of Romainmôtier in this series

because the vaults there were added to a structure already provided with windows. The walls through which the windows open are straight and the superimposed barrel vault was penetrated to provide head room for the windows. In this discussion we are concerned with windows cut in the actual curve of the vault. But the fact that Romainmôtier used penetrations in this novel way when it vaulted its church in the 1080's (according to Suzanne Brodbeck in *Les voûtes romanes de l'église de Romainmôtier*, in *Bulletin Monumental*, 1936, pp. 474-505) would seem to point to an established tradition of penetrations in Cluniac building.



FIG. 19—*Chapaize, Church: Piers  
and Wall of Nave*



FIG. 20—*Anzy-le-Duc, Church: Crossing  
and North Transept*



FIG. 21—*Charlieu, St.-Fortunatus  
Claire-Voie Capitals*



FIG. 22—*Charlieu, St.-Fortunatus: King  
Boso's Aedicule, Detail of Fig. 18*





FIG. 23—By Baugean



FIG. 24—By Gaucherel

*Charlieu, St.-Fortunatus: 19th Century Engravings of the Ruins*

year 1115 by the Knights of St. John. The church is of the two-story type of Charlieu, with attached half-columns on the piers, and has a barrel vault over the nave with windows in penetration. The crusaders who carried this style of church architecture to the Holy Land were probably familiar with the earlier Burgundian tradition, since the great church at Cluny was not yet completed.

Evidence of a clerestory window in the choir bay is less extensive. Anzy-le-Duc has no windows in the vaults east of the nave (Figs. 20 and 25). But the aedicule in the hands of Boso (Fig. 22) clearly shows a single window high up under the roof tiles beyond the crossing, and there exists the nearby example of Semur-en-Brionnais. I have therefore restored the choir bay with a clerestory window of the same size as those in the nave<sup>70</sup> (Figs. 7 and 8).

The restoration drawing of the longitudinal section of the transept (Fig. 5) has been worked out chiefly on the scheme of Anzy-le-Duc (Fig. 20).<sup>71</sup> Consequently the vaults of the transeptal chapels have been placed considerably lower than the groin vaults of the choir bay aisles. And following the example of Anzy, the vaulting of the main apse has been drawn at the same height as that of the central choir bay, with a slight offset, and the vaulting of the aisle apses has been drawn at the same height as that of the side choir bays, with a similar offset (Fig. 7). Clerestory windows in the transept vaults have been inserted in accordance with the pattern of Semur-en-Brionnais (Fig. 28).

The form of the penetration of the clerestory windows of Charlieu has been restored with a less sophisticated treatment than that found in Semur or Châteauneuf, since it seems unlikely that the type of windows in these two twelfth century churches could have existed in the eleventh century. The simpler treatment adopted is found at Santiago.

The vaults of the nave, transepts, and choir bay at Charlieu have been restored at a common level on the evidence of the aedicule of Boso which has the same roof-line throughout (Figs. 7 and 8). At Anzy-le-Duc the vaults of the whole east end are lower than the vault of the nave. But at Anzy the nave is groin-vaulted, and thus the scheme cannot be properly used as a pattern for the arrangement of Charlieu (Fig. 25).

The façade of the church is still in place, but the addition of the two-story porch has considerably obscured its original appearance. It was a handsome version of the two-stage type common in Burgundy, but unusual in that it was divided by two pilasters, not pier buttresses, into three vertical panels expressive of the triple division of the interior into nave and aisles. A single window with double-splaying, placed as high as possible under the aisle vault, lights the western end of each aisle. The stately main doorway is a deeply splayed portal with several recessed orders of archivolts composed of entirely unmolded voussoirs, supported alternately by slender columns with sculptured capitals (Figs. 15, 29, and 31). Across the lintel is a series of arcades under which are curiously archaic figures of the twelve apostles carved in low relief. In the tympanum is a Christ in a mandorla supported by two angels. The upper story, which was probably divided from the lower by a string course, is accented by a magnificent window of obviously more advanced design. It has many recessed orders of richly sculptured archivolts and capitals carved with unusual and highly imaginative figure and decorative motifs. On either side is a much narrower and

70. The slight exterior splay of the nave windows has been omitted. The builders of the first half of the century do not seem to have used cut stone around window openings and without it such a slight splay as the engraving indicates for the nave is inconceivable. Penetrations in high vaults seem never to have been double splayed in the man-

ner of other windows in churches. They are either splayed only inwardly or have a slight outward splay.

71. The windows in the apses, restored on the basis of those used in the nave at Charlieu, are more conservative in size than those of Anzy-le-Duc (Figs. 2, 3, 6, and 7).

lower blind arch (Figs. 16, and 30). In the reconstruction drawing (Fig. 4) the slopes of the screen walls and the gable form above are purely conjectural.

The gable built by the nineteenth century restorers on the east side of the now exposed wall of the eleventh century façade evidently marks the original height of the roof of the nave (Fig. 9). If it is assumed that the roofing stones were originally placed directly on the vault in the usual Burgundian manner, at the height indicated by the gable, it can be demonstrated by a cross-section drawing that there would be just the right amount of space below for a window in the vault of the same size and in the same position shown in Gaucherel's engraving (Figs. 4, 7, and 24).

Pier buttresses must have supported the transept ends. They are indicated by the foundations still in place, and they appear on the aedicule of King Boso already referred to (Fig. 22). There are pier buttresses at the ends of the transepts of Anzy-le-Duc, which are simple in form and entirely without moldings (Fig. 27), and I have used them as models in the graphic reconstruction of the transepts of Charlieu (Fig. 5). The nave buttresses of Charlieu, however, are shown by Gaucherel's engraving to have had horizontal moldings just below the sloping top of the buttress (Fig. 24), and I have followed that design in representing those buttresses (Fig. 7). Such details as the corbels have been assumed to resemble those of Anzy-le-Duc.

King Boso's aedicule shows three windows in the end of the transept (Fig. 22), and this has been taken as a correct representation of the original structure (Fig. 8), although Anzy-le-Duc has only one window in its transept end.

Various bits of graphic and sculptural evidence make it possible to determine the form of the nave with considerable certainty. The nave arcade can be restored for the whole church in accordance with the two arches which are still in place. The engravings published by Baugean and Gaucherel show beyond question that the nave was covered by a barrel vault of semi-circular section. The springing level of the vaults has been determined from the two engravings (Fig. 8).

Levels taken at various points on the exposed foundations at Charlieu indicate that the floor of the sanctuary was at least three steps above the level of the pavement of the nave and transepts (Fig. 5).

Not a particle of evidence of any kind has survived to give an indication of the interior decorative scheme of the apses of Charlieu. But since the east end of Anzy-le-Duc was evidently in so many respects a copy of the east end of Charlieu,<sup>72</sup> it is reasonable assumption that the interior decorations were copied as well. Accordingly the pilaster strips and arched corbel tables of the main apse of Anzy (Fig. 25) have been incorporated in my restoration of Charlieu (Figs. 5 and 8).

72. The question can be argued as to which church copied the other. In favor of Charlieu as the originator are the following considerations:

(a) The unusual plan of an axial apsidiole, which is common to both the second church of Charlieu and the church of Anzy-le-Duc, appears by the foundations to have already been used in the first church of Charlieu. There would therefore be no need for Charlieu to copy that feature from Anzy.

(b) Charlieu is the larger church of the two. Comparative dimensions in meters are as follows: length—Charlieu, 48.50, Anzy, 44.50; aisle width—Charlieu, 2.67, Anzy, 2.53; nave width—Charlieu, 6.10, Anzy, 5.50; width of transept—Charlieu, 7.30, Anzy, 5.72; length of transept (south)—Charlieu, 8.30, Anzy, 8.08; height of soffit of nave arcade—Charlieu, 9.25, Anzy, 7.35; height of imposts of nave—Charlieu, 5.00, Anzy, 3.95.

(c) The *claire-voie*, as stated, *supra*, in division II, was

built approximately at the same time as the eastern part of the church. A comparison of the bases and capitals of the *claire-voie* (Fig. 21) with those of Anzy-le-Duc (Figs. 20 and 26) shows that Anzy was constructed at a later period.

(d) Charlieu was built by the Clunaic order at the time of its greatest power, and it is therefore unlikely that it was merely an imitation of a priory church belonging to the comparatively unimportant abbey of St. Martin of Autun.

(e) It has often been pointed out that the nave of Anzy-le-Duc, with the exception of the vaulting, shows the influence of Charlieu (see the article by Vallery-Radot on *Les analogies des églises de Charlieu et d'Anzy-le-Duc*, in *Bulletin Monumental*, 1929, and the notice on Anzy-le-Duc by André Rhein in the *Congrès Archéologique* for 1936). It can be safely asserted that Anzy-le-Duc's nave was constructed on the model of Charlieu.





FIG. 25—*Anzy-le-Duc, Church: Nave and Apse*



FIG. 26—*Anzy-le-Duc, Church  
Easternmost Nave Bay*



FIG. 27—*Anzy-le-Duc, Church: Apses,  
Looking North*



FIG. 28—*Semur-en-Brionnais, Church  
Crossing Vaults; Detail*

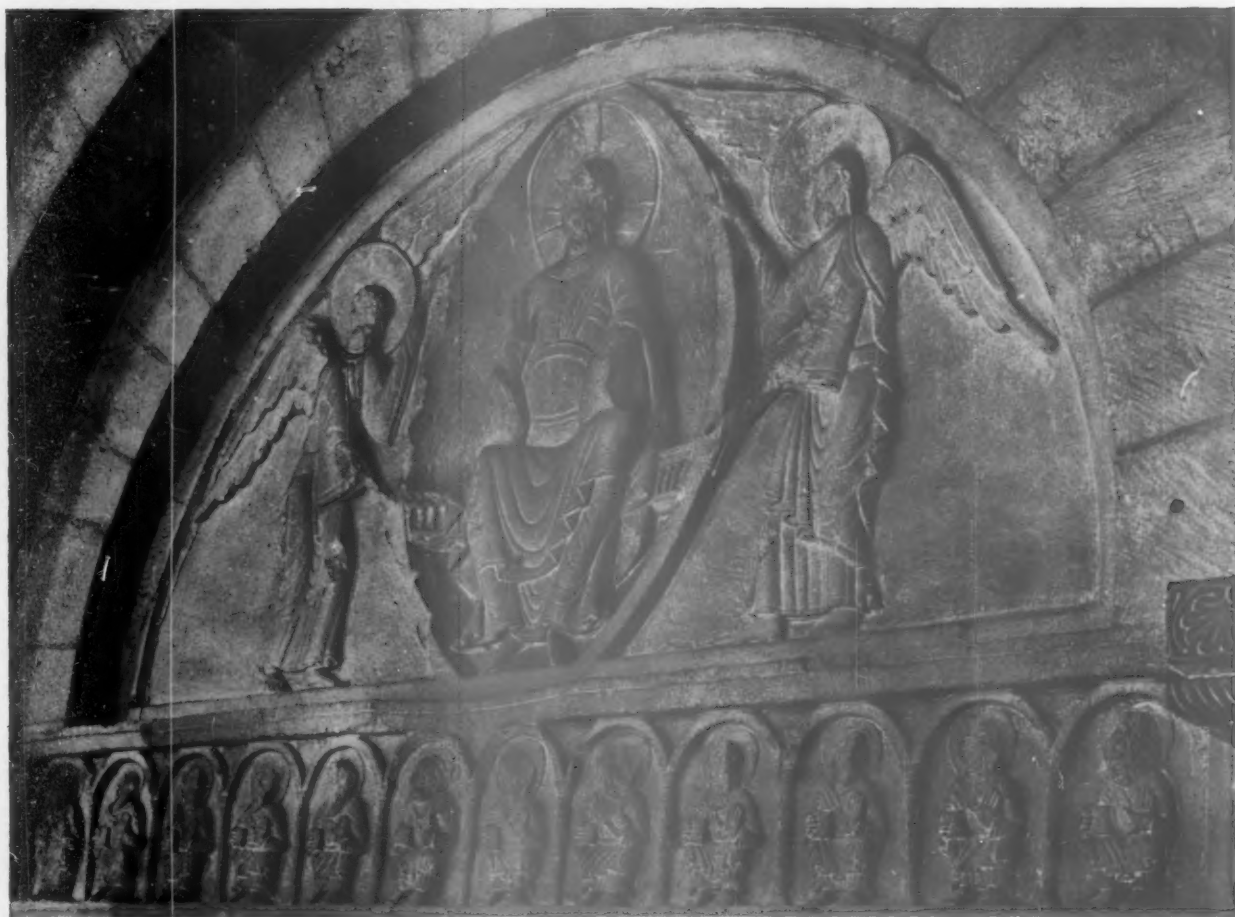


FIG. 29—Main Entry Tympanum and Lintel; Detail of Fig. 15



FIG. 30—Capitals from Upper Window  
Detail of Fig. 16



FIG. 31—Main Entry Corbel and Capital  
Detail of Fig. 15

*Charlieu, St.-Fortunatus: Details from Western Wall*

In the eastern part of the church at Charlieu there appeared, perhaps for the first time in Burgundy, the compound piers with attached columns bearing sculptured capitals which were to be a characteristic feature of the Great Romanesque style. The boldness with which windows were opened in the high vault of the transept and choir bay is prophetic of an emancipation from former limitations in clerestory construction. If Cluny under St. Odilo could build so well, it is less surprising that under his successor, St. Hugh, it was able to surpass all the world in the new basilica dedicated to Sts. Peter and Paul.

One is tempted to date the whole nave on the evidence of the late eleventh century character of the sculpture in the existing bay. But the fact that the sculpture style of the nave bay differs substantially from that of the main portal points to a long period of construction. The bases and the capitals of the main door (Fig. 15) are much closer in style to those in the *claire-voie* (Fig. 21) than to those in the nave, which would indicate that they were carved at an earlier time and long before the actual completion of the church. It is interesting to compare the capitals in Figure 31 with the great crossing capital of Anzy-le-Duc in Figure 26, and the center capitals in the *claire-voie* at Charlieu (Figs. 11 and 21). Those of the doorway at Charlieu seem earlier than those at Anzy, because of a lack of boldness in undercutting and a more tentative use of the leaf decoration. The figure sculpture of the lintel over the main door differs in style from that of the tympanum above it (Figs. 15, 29, and 31). Whether one can date the more archaic lintel (Fig. 29) in the same period as the capitals and bases of the main door cannot be determined with certainty. The more sophisticated tympanum (Fig. 29), in which the wrists of the angels are actually cut free from the background, is probably the work of an outside sculptor brought in at the time of the completion of the church. Certainly the lintel was not designed to be used with the tympanum, for the two central arches and the band of stone above them have been beveled back to permit an unobstructed view of the feet of Christ.

If we compare the engraving by Gaucherel (Fig. 24) with the façade as it now stands (Fig. 9), there would appear to be three distinct periods of construction represented, the first being shown in the lower part of the nave, the second in the clerestory, and the third in the upper part of the façade. These three periods are indicated by the treatment of the arches. In the main doorway (Fig. 15), which characterizes the lower part of the nave, the voussoirs are entirely unmolded and only alternate arches are supported by columns, and the same unmolded voussoirs are found in the aisle windows (Fig. 24). In the clerestory (Fig. 24) there is an additional ornamentation in the form of a billet molding surmounting the voussoirs of both the window and the adjoining blind arches, but this molding is unsupported by columns. In the great upper window of the façade (Fig. 16), the voussoirs are richly molded and all of them are supported by columns. This window and the blind arches flanking it form a triple arcade, which is surmounted by a billet molding carried on the columns of the blind arches. The clerestory, therefore, seems to represent an intermediate stage of construction between the lower part of the nave and the upper part of the façade.

To what periods can one assign the construction of the different parts of the church? It seems improbable that a *consecration* ceremony such as was celebrated in 1094 could have concerned a church which still lacked a completed vault or the upper part of its façade. Furthermore it would seem very unlikely that a round barrel vault would have been used by the Cluniac order after it had once employed the pointed form. Cluny began its third church, which was to initiate the pointed barrel vault, in 1088. One therefore concludes that Charlieu's vault was finished before the church at Cluny had progressed very far. The year 1094 may then be considered the latest possible date for the upper parts of the nave and



façade. The existing aisle bays could have been built some ten years before and the rest of the lower part of the nave still earlier. The western part of the church was possibly constructed slowly over the whole period from 1048 to the decade when the consecration took place.

\* \* \*

Such is the church at Charlieu, restored as its builders had designed it in that transition period when architecture was passing from the style of the First Romanesque to that of the Great Romanesque. Although destined to be overshadowed from the moment of its completion by the far more elaborate and monumental basilica at Cluny, it may justly claim its share of glory for pointing the way to the greater developments which were to come.

## NOTES AND REVIEWS

NICCOLÒ AURELIO, THE COMMISSIONER OF TITIAN'S  
"SACRED AND PROFANE LOVE."

By AUGUST L. MAYER

The Sacred and Profane Love, of the Borghese Gallery in Rome, is not only one of the most famous works of Titian, but the one whose interpretation has been most discussed. The picture is more widely known than the interesting career of its commissioner, whose life was very dramatic. Usually he is dismissed with the brief notice that the Venetian Grand Chancellor Niccolò Aurelio was the commissioner of the picture because his coat of arms appears on the sarcophagus fountain. Yet none of the great Lexicons tell us about this *cancelliere grande* of the Venetian Republic. But the diary of Sanuto gives us the essential points in this man's biography.

Niccolò Aurelio came from a family of commoners. He attained the highest political office accessible to a Venetian commoner, and if his fate had not taken a tragic turn, he like others before him and after, would have been raised to the Venetian nobility by the Signoria—like ministers of former and present monarchies.

At first he was secretary of the Procurators of St. Mark's. In 1509 he obtained the very influential position of secretary to the Council of Ten. He occupied this important political office, which corresponded approximately to a Ministry of Foreign Affairs, until he was chosen Grand Chancellor in 1523. The grand chancellor was the outstanding personality in Venice next to the doge; he was the Prime Minister of the Republic and his high position was emphasized outwardly by his impressive costume. In various official celebrations it was customary for him to represent the doge.

Obviously such a position aroused much envy, and Aurelio was destined to learn this all too soon. To be sure he received many congratulations at the time of his election (August 23, 1523). We still possess the very informative letter of congratulation from Pietro Bembo, the great humanist, papal secretary, and later cardinal, the friend and patron of Titian. Bembo wrote under the date of August 27, 1523, that he had long hoped to see his "friend and brother" Niccolò Aurelio in the position of grand chancellor for that would be the right man in the right place. But scarcely a year elapsed before heavy clouds gathered over the head of the chancellor. What took place looks at first sight like another remarkable proof of the honor, impartiality, and solidity of the Venetian administration. But closer inspection leads to the conviction that Aurelio fell victim to an intrigue, which injured also probably because of similar envy, a member of the famous noble family of Barbarigo. Aurelio was first accused of making statements such as would cost a grand chancellor his position. His displacement was evidently determined upon. Then he was accused of having misused his influence to relieve certain bandits from their punishment. On June 15, 1524, Aurelio still enjoyed the full glory of his office: he was present with his wife at a great banquet. Immediately afterwards, however, rumors of the plot against him reached his ears. After the first examination of June 22 he gave out that he was ill. But that availed him nothing. The first time he appeared before his judges he wore his official costume. The stern lords of the Serenissima dryly informed him this was not the appropriate costume and ordered him to reappear in black. He was arrested and put to the rack. Giovanni Barbarigo, the chancellor of Torcello, met the same fate, even worse—he was given a prison sentence.

Aurelio was banished from Venice for life, his office declared vacant, Treviso assigned to him as permanent place of residence, and he was obliged to report each week to the police, with punishment impending if he failed. Only if all the voices that had condemned him revoked their judgment could he reacquire his former status. Clearly it was a moral death which was formulated by the decree of the Council of Ten on July 5, 1524. Sanuto's diary plainly shows sympathy with the man so abruptly plunged from such prominence: Sanuto carefully records the date on which Aurelio broken by strain, confinement, and torture, left Venice.

After only one year there was a moderation of his sentence. Aurelio was permitted to go to Padua and stay in Paduan territory. Perhaps Bembo had something to do with this, for he resided in Padua. Some time thereafter Aurelio was permitted to return even to Venice, but he was "done for."

Down to his death on June 27, 1531, he protested that he was conscious of no guilt, and as a true son of the Renaissance he gave his feelings most drastic, unChristian expression: in the codicil of his will he said that the devil could take his soul if he was conscious of any blame and knew anything about why they had robbed him of his chancellorship! "But his wife was unwilling that he should be buried so," Sanuto goes on to say in his exact account. She had him ceremoniously buried in S. Giorgio. Heaven, however, evidently took no satisfaction in the deceased for the pomp of the funeral procession was ruined by bad weather: it poured as the sarcophagus was borne across St. Mark's square.

The recent interpretation which Walter Friedlaender has given Titian's picture in THE ART BULLETIN for September, 1938, is convincing. It seems finally to be the desired solution of the riddle. One would like to suppose that the learned Bembo, the friend and patron of Titian, and, as has just been shown, the brotherly friend of Aurelio, suggested the theme of the painting.

SKY HOOKS, THE AUTOBIOGRAPHY OF JOHN KANE. 196 pp.; 27 pls. Philadelphia, Lippincott, 1938. \$3.50.

This book, which has been written by the Pittsburgh journalist Marie McSwigan except for the foreword by Frank Crowninshield, has several compelling claims on current popular interest. Above all, it is full of material for those infatuated with the American scene. Both Kane's autobiography and his pictures record the appearance, activities, and people of American industrial centers—especially of Pittsburgh and nearby regions. To many enthusiasts the fact that Kane was a workman in these mining and milling territories will serve as a kind of guarantee of the probity of his recording. Then too, Kane is well synchronized with the present widespread interest in American "primitives," though for him the French term "Sunday painter" would be a more appropriate designation. As to his position as artist, this is no place to undertake an appraisal, but it is proper to say that there are, and have been, a large number of such relatively unschooled painters by avocation in America. I recall, for instance, once having a janitor whose pictures would compare very favorably with those few of Kane's that I have seen. Add to the above-named considerations the sordid and sometimes almost macabre features of Kane's life, and his good fortune of living in Pittsburgh where he could present his pictures for exhibit in the Carnegie International, and you have a remarkable combination of interest-producing fac-

tors that should secure for this book a numerous and appreciative audience. It is not an art book exactly: the comments on art it contains are distinctly subordinate. It is rather the conscientious record of a workman's life, hence, primarily a document in sociology.

JOHN SHAPLEY

**RICHARD UPJOHN, ARCHITECT AND CHURCHMAN.** By Ederard M. Upjohn; xvii, 243 pp.; 110 figs. Foreword by Kenneth Conant. New York, Columbia University Press, 1939. \$4.00.

One hundred years after the beginning of his work on Trinity Church, the first careful and complete study of Richard Upjohn has appeared. The author is the fourth of the dynasty of architectural Upjohns, whose identities may be briefly disentangled as follows: Richard Upjohn (1802-1878), Richard Michell Upjohn (1828-1903), Hobart B. Upjohn (1876-), Ederard M. Upjohn (1903-). The first two worked in the nineteenth century; the third is a practicing architect today; Ederard Upjohn is an historian of architecture, now teaching at Columbia University. The author had access to valuable source-material in the way of drawings, letters, and accounts preserved by the family, and has supplemented these by careful research in published material and by study of the monuments themselves. This might seem to have the character of official biography, but the reader will discover that the author has preserved throughout a critical and objective scholarship free from ancestor worship. Some of his remarks, in fact, are appallingly unfamily-like.

The book is a study of the life and work of Richard Upjohn and his place in the Gothic Revival. It does not pretend to give any broad picture of American architecture between 1830 and 1870, except as the work of Upjohn himself is an important key to that period, nor does it attempt to assess the aesthetic importance of the Gothic Revival as a general movement. Quoting: "The Gothic Revival not only is a fascinating chapter in the history of taste but also has an importance as the direct ancestor of contemporary church and collegiate buildings in that style. Whether the movement judged as a whole is valuable is an aesthetic question which need not be discussed here. It stands or falls along with the whole field of eclecticism. . . . What is significant historically is the fact of revival, which forms an important chapter in the world's architecture. . . . In the United States, Richard Upjohn's position with regard to that movement is unquestionable. To a peculiar degree the mature stage of the revival in his own work. . . . Previous to him the style had been an amusing and sentimental affectation. After him there could be no doubt of its seriousness."

An introductory chapter discusses the earlier phase of the Gothic Revival in England and in this country: that quaint and "faddish" Gothic prevalent in England from the middle of the eighteenth century, exemplified in the work of Batty Langley or James Wyatt. This early phase in England is well treated; in the United States certain designs of Bulfinch and Bishop Hopkins are mentioned, but a fuller account including discussion of the Gothic designs of such men as Maximilian Godefroi, William Strickland, A. J. Davis, and Isaiah Rogers would have been welcome. Upjohn's Gothic work in this country began at about the same time as the mature and scholarly phase of the Revival in England, and was like it in many respects. In both countries, there was strong influence from new books on medieval architecture, notably those of Britton and Pugin; the several Gothic styles were more correctly employed than they had been in the earlier period; there was an almost exclusive concern with ecclesiastical architecture; and in both countries the new phase was inaugurated by an imposing success in the Perpendicular mode which gained public attention and approval: the Houses of Parlia-

ment and Trinity Church. Upjohn's position as a representative of the developed phase of the Gothic Revival is clearly established.

Richard Upjohn was born in Shaftesbury, Dorset, in 1802. Apprenticed at the age of 17, he worked ten years as a cabinet-maker. In 1829 business reverses led him to seek a career in this country. The diary of his six-weeks' voyage on the sailing-ship "Hebe" is of considerable interest. In 1830 he settled in New Bedford, Mass., and was first employed as a draftsman at a dollar a day. He started independent practice in 1833. From 1834 to 1839 his office was in Boston. His earliest residences were accomplished versions of the Greek Revival style, but the Gardiner house in Gardiner, Maine, and St. John's Church in Bangor were early essays in Gothic—and quite impressive ones.

Upjohn was called to New York in March, 1839, to consult on the rebuilding of Trinity Church. The importance of Trinity in establishing his fame as a church architect, and as the first monument of the mature Gothic Revival in this country, is well known. Trinity was, however, Upjohn's only venture into Perpendicular Gothic, as he immediately turned to the Early English and Decorated; it is not, therefore, typical of his work. Neither is it to be considered his masterpiece. Like Richardson's Trinity in Boston, it came comparatively early in his career and served to establish his fame, but is rather tight, rather archaeological, and looks bedizened and fussy in comparison to later monuments. The Church of the Ascension in New York, Christ and Grace Churches in Brooklyn, and St. Paul's, Buffalo, must all be regarded as superior to it. Judging from the contracts which the trustees of Trinity harnessed on Upjohn, they were as early as 1840 revealing that business acumen later evidenced by the Trinity tenement scandals of the nineties.

From 1840 to 1850 Upjohn was extremely busy, and the formation of his style in a series of important churches is carefully traced. It is to be noted that although he turned to the Early English and Decorated styles, Upjohn never imitated a single prototype directly, nor even adhered strictly to a "pure" style. By a free handling of the Gothic tradition and a sense for medieval mass and proportion he in large measure avoided the flimsy picturesqueness and fussy detail so characteristic of most nineteenth century Gothic, and in his best works approximated the quality of real medieval buildings. In fact, to the reviewer, the beautiful exterior of St. Mary's Church in Burlington, New Jersey (1846-54) is fully on a par with the best medieval English parish churches. Upjohn himself felt that his masterpiece was St. Paul's, Buffalo (1850-51).

Trinity Church is the only one of Upjohn's structures with a vaulted ceiling, and even this had to be executed in wood and plaster. Upjohn disliked such pretense, and in all his other churches he chose to accept cost limitations frankly and use the timbered ceilings so often found in English parish churches. These were handled in a variety of ways, most often with hammerbeam trusses. Occasionally these ran away from him, as in the confused maze of hammerbeams, arches, and struts in the church at Brunswick, Maine. Perhaps the most satisfactory timbered ceiling is that of Grace Church, Brooklyn, and it is almost the only one which shows a degree of the clear architectural sense of French Gothic. Upjohn knew little or nothing about French Gothic until his trip to Europe in 1850, by which time he was too old to be influenced by much more than the details of the style. If his interiors have any consistent defect, it is wall-shaft and corbel trouble. Wall-shafts are not structurally conceived, they stop at the wrong places, or, worse yet, they rest on awkwardly-placed corbels—the latter in one instance consisting of carved heads. This defect he came by legitimately, of course, for it is precisely the defect of most original English Gothic.



His brief trip of Europe in 1850 took him to London, the Rhine, southern Germany, and Italy, but afforded merely a hasty transit across France on his return to Calais. Such new influences as appear in his work after this date are accordingly more German or Italian than French, especially a tendency toward increased use of polychromy and generally richer detail. It is this complication which causes the reviewer to feel that the interior of Trinity Chapel, New York (1850-55) represents a decline, though the exterior is severe and fine. There appear here certain French features such as a highly-developed portal, rose window, and a full chevet, but the latter lacks the French sense of order. Usually Upjohn employed the flat East end of English Gothic.

Richard Michell Upjohn was taken into the firm in 1851, and from this time on, as the office launched into quantity production, there was a general decline. The author takes considerable pains to separate the work of the son from that of the father, although it is often difficult to do this with certainty. The style becomes definitely more "Victorian." There is an increased complexity of detail, polychrome decoration in slate roofs or in zigzag bands on interiors, elaborate iron roof-crests, and in general a dry, linear feeling. After 1858 Upjohn devoted himself largely to the affairs of the A.I.A. and left the office work to his son. St. Thomas's, New York (1868-70) was the last important church which he himself designed. Although the exterior is a little complex, the tower with its French-looking octagonal top stage is one of his best. The reredos was carved by Augustus St. Gaudens and the murals painted by John LaFarge. This church was burned in 1905 and was replaced by the famous Cram, Goodhue & Ferguson edifice still standing.

Throughout his career Upjohn was interested in the problem of the small church. He designed many parish churches for poor village congregations—often without charging a fee. These were inexpensive board-and-batten structures, often lacking tower and transepts, and today have the air of rural quaintness associated with the architectural handbooks of the mid-century. In fact, such were the demands on his time for these unprofitable commissions that Upjohn published a small book called "Upjohn's Rural Architecture" in 1852. This contained drawings for a small church, a chapel, a parsonage, and a school-house, together with specifications and bills of timber so that they might easily be constructed by local amateurs. Many such were actually built—and as far afield as Iowa and Alabama.

Upjohn is usually thought of as a complete Gothickist, and it comes as somewhat of a surprise to see his designs in other styles. The Bowdoin College Chapel (1845-55) is Rhenish Romanesque; the Harvard College Chapel project 1846 is vaguely Italian. Of his residences, very few are in Gothic—and that is the quaint and imaginary Gothic typical of Downing's *Cottage Residences*. Most of them are in variants of the Italian. The Edward King house at Newport (1845-47) was published in Downing's *Architecture of Country Houses* (1850) as an example of the Italian Villa type. The houses, as the author remarks, are "on the whole typical of their time and but little better than the average." They are highly picturesque, with large piazzas, Florentine arcades, villa towers, round arched windows, and—it would seem from the plans—very dark and gloomy interiors. The brownstone Pierrepont house in Brooklyn (1856) is an exception, being in severe Italian palazzo style reminiscent of Barry, and the Corn Exchange Bank in New York (1854) is similarly impressive.

Upjohn consistently avoided Gothic in his residences, civic and commercial buildings, and he avoided what he considered real Gothic as much as he could in churches of the Nonconformist denominations. To him Gothic was a style to be employed in only one institution, and the right kind of institution at that. This involved him sometimes

in unpleasant controversies, but he was a staunch Episcopalian and he insisted that Gothic should be used only in churches with a Catholic ritual. This attitude toward the style, it seems to the reviewer, is very revealing. In a sense, Upjohn realized and insisted that architectural form is inseparably linked with the function which goes on within it: if a congregation did not believe in a Catholic ritual, they couldn't have a Catholic architecture—not from him anyway. This was not bigotry; it was a proper sense of the congruity of life and architecture. One cannot doubt his sincerity or fail to admire the seriousness and loftiness of his intentions. But he did not carry the attitude through. He evidently did not regard Gothic as a universal style growing naturally and organically out of conditions of plan, structure, and materials, and out of the cultural traditions and viewpoint of its times. If he had, he would have employed one style for churches, residences, commercial buildings, and all others, as the Gothic builders did. And if Upjohn had a limited understanding of Gothic, how much more so did his lesser contemporaries and followers! Almost without exception, the architects of Upjohn's generation and of the generation after the Civil War who employed Gothic, or what they believed to be Gothic, had no inkling of the real significance of Gothic architecture to the nineteenth century. It is for this reason that the reviewer cannot agree with the author's feeling that the Gothic Revival, as a whole, contributed to the nineteenth century a new interest in problems of structure and of organic planning, or that "the Gothic Revival, in England and America, was the most important development in architecture during the century." It seems that its importance must be regarded as quantitative rather than qualitative. At least one man of this period had a rather complete understanding of the significance of Gothic to the nineteenth century, and that was Viollet-le-Duc. But he was not a Gothic Revivalist. Neither, it must be admitted, was he a great architect.

Upjohn's distinction, it seems to the reviewer, is not so much that he surpassed his contemporaries in understanding what he was doing as in surpassing them in what he did. There can be no question of the superior quality of his work. It seems that he was something like Richardson, a man who through sheer creative genius produced without thinking a well-integrated style based on tradition, but of a personal rather than a broadly social significance.

An equally great achievement, however, was Upjohn's part in the formation of the American Institute of Architects. The two chapters dealing with this are most interesting. In the first of them, the author discusses "Some Matters of Professional Practice" during the mid-century which reveal the difficulties involved in a lack of established professional standards. Upjohn himself had been the victim of many misunderstandings with clients, some of which led him into lawsuits, and even his relatively fair contracts with Trinity reveal that an architect was regarded as a kind of superior carpenter, often unable to protect what we should today regard as his inalienable rights. Other details of office routine in those days are of interest: the kind of drawings and specifications submitted, the difficulties involved by the lack of blueprinting, the use of private messengers and private postal carriers instead of telephone and government mail, the handling of correspondence by long-hand, and the lack of established custom in the matter of fees.

In February, 1857, Upjohn called a meeting attended by thirteen New York architects. Out of this grew the American Institute of Architects, incorporated on April 13, 1857. Upjohn was the president and guiding hand of the Institute for nineteen years. For some years it remained purely a New York organization, but in 1867 the New York men founded a "New York Chapter" and encouraged the formation of other chapters elsewhere. The second chapter was formed in Philadelphia in 1869, the third in Chicago in

the same year; Cincinnati and Boston followed in 1870, and Baltimore in 1871. At the time of Upjohn's retirement from the chair in 1876 there were eight chapters. Upjohn had always been a bitter opponent of open and unregulated competitions and made many strong addresses on this subject. The Institute ultimately agreed on regulations for the conduct of competitions. Its other most important contribution was the determination of a fixed schedule for professional charges. In many other ways, however, it acted to introduce professional ethics and to raise the repute of the profession in the public mind. As the author says: "Before Upjohn's time an architect, as such, might be thought little better than a carpenter. Afterwards, architecture had ceased to be a trade and had become a profession."

In 1872 the partnership of Richard Upjohn and his son was dissolved, and Upjohn retired from active practice. He was seventy years old. For the remaining six years of his life he lived in Garrison, New York, where he died on August 17, 1878.

The book includes a complete corpus of Upjohn's work, carefully dated and documented. Buildings are arranged by cities, alphabetically, and divided into three groups: works of primary importance; works of secondary importance; minor alterations, unexecuted projects, etc. This list occupies 29 pages, which may give some idea of the magnitude of Upjohn's practice. In the illustrations gathered at the back of the book a great many of the architect's original drawings and plans are shown. Particular praise is due for the use of old photographs in some cases, revealing a building as Upjohn designed it rather than as it has since been remodeled. In every other respect the book shows evidence of painstaking research.

The importance of this book is indisputable. By a careful and reliable study of the life and work of a key man in an hitherto slightly explored period, it not only reveals fully to us one of our great architects, but builds one more solid step toward an eventual synthesis of the history of American architecture.

HUGH S. MORRISON

SCHRIFTQUELLEN ZUR KUNSTGESCHICHTE DER MEROVINGERZEIT. SONDERABDRUCK AUS "BONNER JAHRBÜCHER." BAND 140-141. By Elsmarie Knögel. 258 pp. Darmstadt, 1936.

I do not know how many copies of this publication exist, or if it is to be had at all in the book market. It will be available to most of those who are interested in the subject at least in the file of the famous *Bonner Jahrbücher*. And I think that there is no doubt that it deserves a note in these pages. It is not merely a more or less ephemeral article which would call only for taking a position towards the theories presented or the ideas discussed therein, but it has the character of a real book, which will be an object of continual use and reference, and which deserves a review like that of a book.

The character of this piece of work is clear from its title. It deals with the written sources, which can serve for the history of the arts under the reign of the Merovingian kings (c. 500-750 A.D.). The countries included are the empire of these kings and the British Isles. The fields of art covered are architecture, painting, sculpture, and the minor arts. The bulk of the book is made up of the publication of the texts which are taken from the works of historians, theologians, from legends of saints, from documents, from the collections of regional laws, from letters and poetry, in fact, from every imaginable kind of contemporary writing. It must have been a long and exacting task to gather this collection of more than 1000 quotations, even though the author had a certain help in the preceding literature on the art of this period.

The arrangement of the material is very simple: the

continental sources and those of the British Isles are separated. In each section the subdivisions are made according to the character of the source. The abstracts from historical books come first, followed by those from the legends of saints, the documents, letters, etc. In each group the arrangement is roughly made according to the date of the source. This system may seem perhaps rather primitive. We are used to a more logical arrangement in books like Schlosser's *Schriftquellen zur Karolingischen Kunst*<sup>1</sup> and the recent publication by Otto Lehmann-Brockhaus of sources of the history of art of the romanesque period.<sup>2</sup> There the quotations are arranged according to the subject they refer to. Thus we find all the material about architecture, or sculpture, or painting, etc., together. This method has its great conveniences for the reader. Perhaps, however, it was not so necessary in the more restricted field with which Mrs. Knögel had to deal. Her arrangement has the advantage that we get a good impression of what each author or anonymous source contributes to our knowledge. This is of course especially interesting in the case of writers like Gregory of Tours, whose importance in this respect has always been recognized, and in the case of legends like that of the goldsmith Saint Eligius. It is impossible to attempt here any indication of the real contents of all this material, as only the practical use of the texts can reveal.

Valuable is the introduction, which gives a short survey of the monuments preserved from this period. It is scarcely more than an enumeration, without an attempt at a critical appreciation of the material. But it is very valuable as a collection of scattered information. And truly formidable is the literature quoted, which makes this section of the book a good starting point for further investigation. (As remarkable, by the way, is the bibliographical apparatus attached to the texts.) The second part of the introduction is dedicated to an attempt to sketch out the different problems presented by the source material.

The whole methodical treatment of the difficult task indicates the sound historical training of the author. Good indices and a glossary of the more obscure Latin words and terms add to the usefulness of the volume.

ULRICH MIDDELDORF

<sup>1</sup> *Quellenschriften für Kunstgeschichte und Kunst. Neue Folge*, IV, Vienna, 1892.

<sup>2</sup> Lehmann-Brockhaus, *Schriftquellen zur Kunstgeschichte des 11 und 12 Jahrhun., für Deutschland, Lothringen, und Italien*, Berlin, 1938, 2 vols. This publication, of a very similar character to the one reviewed here, is probably of still greater importance, due to the more extensive material and the greater general interest of the period, and it is scarcely possible to exaggerate its importance. It ought to become an indispensable source of inspiration for everybody interested in medieval art.

DIE AUFZEICHNUNGEN DES MICHELANGELO BUONAROTTI IM BRITISCHEN MUSEUM IN LONDON UND IN VERMÄCHT-NIS ERNST STEINMANN IN ROM. (Römische Forschungen der Bibliotheca Hertziana Band XIV). By Wolf Maurer. xix, 330 pp.; 24 pls. Leipzig, H. Keller, 1938. R.M. 48.

It is very difficult to give a fair appraisal of this thick volume in a review. It is not a book which the reviewer can be expected to have read from cover to cover, and I must confess that I found it a hard task to evolve an idea of this book by skimming it. What is clear from the outset and makes a most favorable impression are certain basic qualities in the method by which the material is presented, however hard it may be to appreciate its real contents, i.e., the documents published here.

The documents will doubtlessly one day serve their purpose. Documents regarding Michelangelo, and especially those written down by his own hand, will have an ever growing importance in the constantly increasing re-



finement of the criticism of the artist's life history. We will hope that some of the entries in this book which may appear at first sight as of completely trivial nature will one day find their place in an important context. For the present one feels bewildered and often irritated by such an accumulation of laundry bills, of accounts which regard Michelangelo's financial affairs, of notes which tell us how much money he spent on his servants and the like. There are very few pieces which refer to the artistic activity of the master, and those are already known in one form or another. They regard chiefly the ceiling of the Sistine chapel, the monument of Pope Julius, the Medici chapel, and the façade of S. Lorenzo.

As I say, the main value of this book consists in its exemplary method of editing this material. The documents are published in chronological order, with subdivisions which attempt to keep the related material together. The texts are completely rendered in reasonable and methodical transcriptions. Each piece of paper is so precisely described as to its state, the character of its writing, and the watermarks, that one is tempted to ask himself if such meticulous procedure would not have been worthy of a better purpose. The various ms. copies are precisely listed, as are the previous publications. Short abstracts inform about the main contents. In the accompanying notes an attempt is made to coordinate the documents historically. But a really exhaustive historical criticism seems not to have been the intention of the author.

An appendix lists further autograph documents by Michelangelo in various other collections, parallelized with the main data from Michelangelo's life. This appendix is the part of the book which certainly will be frequently used by everybody interested in the artist, since an immense amount of material is gathered here in a very systematic way, presented in a convenient form. It is, however, a pity that this section of the book has not been expanded into a complete chronology of Michelangelo's life, including all known dates and facts. For artists like Michelangelo, about whom we have so much, and such scattered, information, such a list would be of the greatest help. The late G. Gronau has prepared such a work for Titian—a work of a lifetime—which unfortunately is still unpublished, but which, if it were edited in the future, might set an example for the way such work ought to be done.

The careful bibliography and the almost confusingly rich index are another proof of the extreme conscientiousness with which the book has been prepared. We must thank the author for having set such high standards for this kind of work.

ULRICH MIDDENDORF

A SURVEY OF PAINTING IN THE DECCAN. By Stella Kramrisch. 234 pp.; 24 pls. London, India Society, 1937.

Miss Stella Kramrisch has a notable gift of veiling her profound knowledge of Indian art with obscure, transcendental phraseology. An addict to mysticism will be delighted with this book; people of a less orphic mentality will find themselves occasionally lost in what must appear to them an impenetrable fog. It is certainly not surprising that this book lately occasioned a fierce, and not wholly unwarranted attack on "Havellism," wherein sharp expressions such as "obscurantists," "mystery-mongers," and "sentimental dope-dealers" were freely used against a school of writers on Indian art "who have chosen the conveniently profitable business of seeing art in terms of big letters and cloudy philosophy" (*Neither Yoga nor Magic, a Plea for the Sane View*, by W. E. Gladstone Solomon, London, *The Times*, Oct. 23, 1937, p. 13). True, this book lends itself very easily to quotations which will prove the unintelligibility of large portions of it, but blanket condemnation would be unfair and unjustified; there is too much material, knowledge, and good observation in it.

Miss Kramrisch is able to see problems, and one of the most important is that of how Indian painting differs from the painting of other peoples. It is clear that only painting itself can answer this question, which means that solely an analysis of visual form leads to results, and not a metaphysical interpretation. The authoress tacitly recognizes this at the outset: "Indian painting of the Ajantā type, known to us from the second to the sixth century A. D., is not conceived in terms of depth. It comes forward. It is not visualized as starting from a plane near to the spectator and leading away from him, but it departs from the level at the bottom of its visible expanse and from there it opens up and shows its contents simultaneously from within many compartments. It does not lead away, but it comes forth. All other types of painting obey two possibilities. They treat the ground as surface and exist within its two dimensions or they create, in one way or another, an illusion of leading into depth. Painting in terms of surface however is the rule in the Deccan from the sixteenth century onwards. This vision as in Elura is forecast from the eighth century and earlier. . . ." The observation regarding later painting in terms of surface is not new, but that of Ajantā painting being conceived in terms of "forthcoming" is new and the most interesting yet made about the peculiarity of ancient Indian painting. With it, Miss Kramrisch has left far behind the petty and dilettante attempts of other writers to characterize Indian painting. I want to stress this point, for, I am at variance with the authoress concerning her conclusions and formal interpretation.

When writing about the frescoes of the various caves at Ajantā, Miss Kramrisch repeatedly makes use of terms like "come forth," "body forth," "set forth," "sally forth," "hold forth," or "move forward." A chapter is headed: "The direction of forthcoming." What is meant by these expressions may be seen in her initial paragraph, quoted above. Yet a close examination of the pictures will reveal that the impression of "forthcoming" is not due to a peculiar conception of space, but to the fact that in ancient Indian painting the objects are represented not only as extended and tridimensional, but as plastic. These form conceptions are usually confused with each other, especially as applied to European art, though the three of them have nothing in common. Chinese painting, for example, represents the tridimensionality of elements but not their plasticity, and represents space; Indian painting gives the objects plastically but stops short of a real apprehension of space. These differences, more than merely different attitudes towards form are the outcome of inherent and innate qualities of race, or whatever that compound of man may be called which is found in a given area and forms a cultural unit; a certain maturity, it is true, must first be attained to give expression to it.

The Hindu has a most intensive sense of plasticity; he is a born sculptor, and his painting is actually plastic art realized in another medium: hence this swelling growth of human, animal, and floral forms; hence these sharply protruding rocks shaped like walls erected by the hand of man, with very definite directions of breadth, height, and depth, brought, in other words, into the simplest and most impressive aspect of tridimensionality, and then rendered plastic by different shades of color for its different surfaces. But all this does not involve the conception and representation of space. I tried to demonstrate some time ago how the Indian artist struggled with the problem of spatial relation, and how he halted just at the threshold of a true conception of space (*Frühindische Historienreliefs*, in *Ostasiatische Zeitschrift*, N. F. VIII, 1932, pp. 18 ff.). I showed there that the utmost the Indian could bring himself to represent in this respect was a small group of figures within a closed room which he conceived as a sort of hollow body with definite boundaries. This conception is quite to be expected since, in art, the Indian thinks primarily in terms of bodies. I suppose that Miss Kramrisch refers to the



same phenomenon when speaking of "receptacles." The most important thing, however, is that there was never an attempt made to let several of these "space cells" merge into a large spatial unit; they are simply placed side by side, without any interrelation whatsoever. This stage was reached in the second century A. D., in Amarāvati. Indian art never went beyond this stage, never conceived and represented space as a continuum. A glimpse at pl. II of this book, a detail of the large illustration of the Vidhurapandita Jātaka in Cave II at Ajantā, will convince anyone that space scarcely existed as a problem of representation. What the authoress calls "multiple perspective," in her opinion "adapted to the metaphysical movement," is simply incoherence of apperception, her "direction of forthcoming," the result of the keen apperception of plasticity. This is not a judgment of quality; it is a statement about a specific kind of artistic perception. Of one phenomenon Miss Kramrisch does not speak—and this is a regrettable omission—the way in which an Indian artist arranges the scenes of a story. He uses a unique variety of the so-called continuous representation, first recognized and described by Alfred Foucher in his *Lettres d'Ajantā* (*Journal Asiatique*, 1921, p. 203). It is not the common device of giving the various episodes according to their sequence in time in a corresponding sequence of scenes within one large picture, thus displaying the hero several times; he shows the same person sometimes twice within such a scene, when actions, wide apart in time, occurred at the same place, thus destroying the flow of the narration in time rather than impinging upon the oneness of the location of a setting in space.

The most momentous paintings of the Indian Middle Ages happen to be located in the Deccan, in the caves of Ajantā and Elūrā; they play therefore a very conspicuous part in this book. It is quite evident that stylistic changes set in at Elūrā at the end of the eighth century. The bulging roundness of form wanes; the contour becomes sharper; the "space cells" have disappeared. In other words there is a reduction on the whole front; artistic vision is less differentiated and reduced to a much simpler plane. The change begins in the seventh century, in the Sittanavāsāl cave, in Kāñcipuram, etc. The movement went on, leading to the style of miniature painting from the twelfth century onwards, and to the style of wall paintings like those in the Uchayappa Matha, Ānegundi, of the fourteenth century.

The chapters dealing with miniature painting are very valuable contributions, for up to this time little was known about painting in Bijāpūr, Golconda, etc. It is surprising, how much these Deccani paintings have in common with works coming from other provinces of India. The attitude towards form was the same, the differences, which certainly existed, being only ones of degree and not of kind. Like so-called Rājput painting, with which it is closely related, Deccani painting was exposed to an overwhelming influence from Persian painting and its offspring in India, Moghul painting; in the eighteenth century it shares the then universal Indian style. In many ways Miss Kramrisch masters her subject thoroughly; in point are the notes, which are a mine of information, and the scholarly Catalogue of Paintings from Golconda and Hyderabad in the Collection of Sir Akbar Hydari, at the end of the volume. Had the authoress written this book with the same clarity of diction as she did her admirable treatises on Gupta, and on Pāla and Sena sculpture, it would have been much more acceptable, at least for the mystically unaffected. But even in its present state it is indispensable.

LUDWIG BACHHOFFER

INDIAN TEMPLES. 136 PHOTOGRAPHS, CHOSEN AND ANNOTATED BY ODETTE BRUHL, WITH A PREFACE BY SYLVAIN LÉVI. Humphrey Milford, Oxford University Press, 1937.

This publication does not pretend to be more than a picture book. It must be said, however, that the pictures are extraordinarily good, knowingly chosen, and taken with great taste. They range from the dolmens of prehistoric times to Muhammadan structures, with the most famous Buddhist and Hinduistic temples in between. A few wonderful landscapes are interspersed, very much to the benefit of book and reader.

The dates and explanations offered in the annotations are, in the main, correct. A masterpiece are the four pages of introduction by Sylvain Lévi. What a wealth of ideas, what wide erudition, what profound knowledge of India in all her spiritual and material ways are here compressed into a few paragraphs!

LUDWIG BACHHOFFER

BUDDHIST WALL-PAINTINGS. A STUDY OF A NINTH-CENTURY GROTTO AT WAN FO HSIA. By L. Warner. xv, 36 pp.; 46 pls. Cambridge, Harvard University Press, 1938. \$4.00.

This slender volume may be considered as a preliminary report on the frescoes of Cave Five at Wan Fo Hsia as studied by the author and his associates of the Fogg-China Expedition of 1925. The text describes in detail the forty-five plates of the site of the cave and of the paintings within. These plates, it may be remarked, are very good when one considers the difficulties under which they were made: the unfriendly attitude of the local inhabitants and the impurities of the available water used in developing the negatives. Fortunately the large size of the plates makes it possible to study the paintings with some idea of their actual appearance. There is also an index and a section of bibliographical and explanatory notes.

After showing the importance of the site and its religious and artistic relationship to the Caves of the Thousand Buddhas at Tun Huang, Langdon Warner analyzes the technique used by the professional guild of artists who worked at Cave Five. This group apparently consisted of a master artist who drew and pounced the general design, and his specialized assistants who did the coloring.

The cave is divided into an entrance passage, crossed by another running parallel to the face of the cliff; an antechamber, likewise cut; a second passage; and the main chapel, containing a number of poorly modeled statues on a dais. In the entrance passage beyond the first cross tunnel are the painted figures of donors and earthly demons. The walls of the first chamber have balancing compositions of Buddhas and Bodhisattvas, of which a single figure of Virūpākṣa shows a remarkable stylistic parallel to a banner found by Sir Aurel Stein at Tun Huang. This particular mural is further notable as it bears four sgraffiti, one of which is dated Jan. 15, 901 A. D. This date confirms Warner's opinion that the paintings are not later than the ninth century though no one can tell at present how much earlier they may be.

The main chapel according to Warner is both a place of worship and a symbol of the Vairocana form of Mahāyāna Buddhism. On the wall opposite the entrance is the Maṇḍala of Mahavairocana Tathāgata with his Eight Emanations forming the Maṇḍala of the Nine Squares. The side walls are occupied by two paradises, while on one side of the entrance appears Mañjuśrī on his lion, and on the other Samantabhadra seated on a lotus on his elephant.

Before analyzing the two paradises in detail, Warner draws an important iconographic distinction between a maṇḍala and a paradise: the first is strictly designed according to esoteric rules in order to display the formal plans of the symbolic attributes; the second, however, being based on the sutras, is allowed more freedom of representation. The east wall shows the Sukhāvātī Paradise of Amitāhva, who is enthroned with his attendants on the central veranda of the lake palace. On either side of the main scene are vertical panels of story-telling scenes,

akin to the little predella panels around a 14th century Florentine altarpiece. Beyond the two vertical strips, at each end are the single figures of Avalokiteśvara and Mahāsthāmaprāpta.

The tuṣita Paradise of Maitreya on the opposite wall, however, is more elaborately conceived. The design formally unites the interwoven minor scenes into the climatic central group of Maitreya, the Second Buddhist Messiah, enthroned with his Bodhisattvas and attendants on both sides, and before them the High Altar with the Seven Precious Things. In the lower corners are seated Buddhas with their attendants. At each end of the wall outside the vertical border band of rosettes are two more single representations of Avalokiteśvara and Mahāsthāmaprāpta. It is regrettable that the plate for this complex composition should be the one damaged by the impure water. A detail plate (here lacking) of the central figures even though imperfect, might have helped the reader to perceive the shapes more quickly. On the whole however this is an excellent report on a notable example of Buddhist art.

JOHN E. MCCALL

AN INTRODUCTION TO ART EDUCATION. By William G. Whitford. xix, 391 pp.; 12mo. New York, D. Appleton-Century Company, 1937. \$2.50. (Revised and enlarged edition.)

An excellent survey of art education in the primary and secondary grades, this book stands alone as the only comprehensive treatise in its field. It contains a brief and concise history of such art education in the United States, suggestions for programs of teaching, suggestions for fitting art into existing curricula, analyses of current problems, and the latest data gained from psychological experiments.

Mr. Whitford, associate professor of art education at the University of Chicago, does not sponsor the encouragement of vacuous self-expression nor does he favor over-trained, inhibited, imitative drawing. This is a splendid and up-to-date text for teachers and supervisors of art in the primary and secondary schools.

NANCY MILLETTE

ALESSO BALDOVINETTI: A CRITICAL AND HISTORICAL STUDY. By Ruth Wedgwood Kennedy. vi, 253 pp. 162 figs. New Haven, Yale University Press, 1938. \$15.00.

Ever since Vasari described Baldovinetti's painting as *secca e cruda*, historians have thought of him as an unsuccessful naturalist who wasted his time in a search for technical novelties. When, three hundred years later, Mr. Berenson noted his interest in "the side of painting which is scarcely superior to cookery," Baldovinetti's bad reputation seemed to have been sealed.

It is a comfort in the face of this bibliography (with Roger Fry the only notable dissenter) to take up a monograph on Baldovinetti and find that it does not begin: "Up to this time the art of Baldovinetti has been unbelievably underrated . . ." On the contrary, Mrs. Kennedy gives herself the challenge on the first page: "A painter's style," she says, "has no importance except as an archeological fact unless his taste is formed by a deep sense of beauty and by emotion which partakes in some degree of the universal." Following Baldovinetti's style through his known oeuvre, freeing it of what is extraneous and enriching it with new interests, she shows us an artist who is worth the effort to know him.

Wordsworth once said that you must love an artist in order to know him. You must at least try to sympathize with his aims before you can judge him. As the author points out, Vasarian ideals are quite out of place here. "Baldovinetti's interest lies in the fact that he was, in a few of his works, so successful in adapting nature to his

scheme of things, and that, in an age where the representation of nature and the conquest of optical laws was one of the principal aims of all painters and sculptors, he kept his faith in the fundamental verities of art. He is not a *ritardatario* . . . but an artist in whom the new vision is combined with the old beliefs, and who, therefore, for a brief moment of transition creates works of a special kind of beauty." We have come around in modern times to a good deal more sympathy with a painter like Baldovinetti. The carefully designed locks of hair, clumps of grass or spiral swaddling-bands, the cubical buildings and exclamatory cypresses annotating the distance, the repeated curves and loops or interlocking triangles of a composition are elements which we rightly prize. Mrs. Kennedy's analyses of these elements of design give us new eyes for Baldovinetti's style.

So the false Baldovinetti—the little man who wanted to be a realist and failed—is exposed. The profile-portrait in the National Gallery takes away all Vasari's sting. Once aware of Baldovinetti's own interest, in the Duchatel Madonna of the Louvre, or the Servi Annunciation, one is quite ready to discount his deficiencies. Viewed as representation, the Louvre Madonna is a nervous picture—one asks in vain where the lady is sitting, with an abyss before and behind. Neither did Baldovinetti in this picture really understand the aerial perspective we hear so much about. Yet it remains a delight because the devices of realism were still, in the middle of the Quattrocento, only a richer means for design and expression.

The greater value of this book lies in its treatment of the whole sphere of early Renaissance art. Mrs. Kennedy is remarkably successful in reconstructing the period in its time-dimension, so that artists move naturally about each other in our minds. It is not enough—as anyone who has watched a living artist like Rivera can see—to say: His master was Domenico Veneziano and leave the rest to character. Baldovinetti's character evidences itself continually in catching influences from the whole world around him. And the author manages to give, without vagueness or confusion, an idea of the richness and complexity of the influences at work on an impressionable artist.

The book will, therefore, take its place at once as one of the indispensable texts on the early Renaissance. Here you will find brief but definitive treatments of Gentile da Fabriano, Domenico Veneziano, Masolino, Fra Angelico, and Castagno. Domenico and Masolino, especially, come into their rightful places of importance. Minor artists like Domenico di Michelino, Zanobi Machiavelli, or Giovanni di Francesco emerge convincingly. The elusive Finiguerra is defined a little closer by his association with Baldovinetti. Great names like Verrocchio, Antonio Pollaiuolo, and Domenico Ghirlandaio are related to the earlier masters. Footnotes, such as that on the sources of Mantegna's style, serve to fill out the picture—especially notable is that on the Portinari altarpiece by Hugo van der Goes, a picture as important to Florentine painting as its history has been ambiguous. In fact whatever came into Baldovinetti's world is here caught and appraised. It is a splendid work of clarification.

An example of the delicacy with which an artist's development is pursued is the case of Domenico Veneziano. Mrs. Kennedy presumes the original influence on Domenico to have been Gentile da Fabriano (rather than Pisanello, whom she sees as a parallel development from Gentile). Masolino is the strongest Florentine influence, possibly encountered in Rome, where she suggests the presence of Domenico in the San Clemente frescoes. This is augmented, however, by a repercussion of Masolinesque influence through another Florentine, Fra Angelico, who, like Domenico, followed Masolino's way out of the Gothic manner. Such intricacies of relationship—and I merely indicate their outlines—would be fanciful, if they were not supported by a convincing chronology and even more



important comparisons of style. As it is, they bring something like reality to the whole period.

Baldovinetti serves well as pivot for such a reconstruction. He is not a superman from whose genius all associates melt away, and his long life lies full across the Quattrocento. Furthermore his entourage was not restricted to the painters. As his own notebook shows us, he supplied cartoons for stained glass windows and tarsia cupboards; he did business with engravers; and he was one of the last men in Florence who could lay mosaic. To these the author adds the attribution of designs for the Della Robbia workshop, notable the frame of the Federighi tomb.

This work other than painting is important in many ways. It rounds out Baldovinetti's oeuvre: evidently it was not in futile experiment that he filled the time between paintings, but in mosaics for the tympanum of the cathedral at Pisa, or for the soffits of the Ghiberti doors. We shall see its influence on Baldovinetti's style. It serves also to recall that unity of the arts and crafts which still maintained in quattrocento Florence, when a painted madonna was often copied from a marble relief, and a sculptor's style in drapery might well be inspired by a painter. It is false, and blinding as well, to isolate the arts in such a period.

As a study in style, the *Baldovinetti* is especially notable. Style, which the author calls the "fundamental continuity of mental attitude" in an artist, is a matter not only of types, but of those practical habits which she distinguishes as *pictorial* and *technical*. The validity of Morellian observations such as the drawing of profiles and of grasses, or the lighting of drapery or pearls, is obvious, but the author goes still further in analyzing the actual methods of painting. Baldovinetti's invariable method for drapery, for example, was to flow a body color over the surface, and then to build up the form upon this with small strokes of shadow and light—a method which, as the author points out, may well derive from the engravers and glass-painters. Sometimes hatching is varied with dotting—a pre-pointillism unique in Florentine painting. Since the attribution of a picture like the National Gallery portrait can depend upon the observation of such technical devices, it is no futile pedantry to study them.

In fact, is not a knowledge of technique the essential tool of the scholar which differentiates him from the esthetic amateur? Hogarth said long ago that art was a subject quite beyond "mere men of letters." The historian, even the critic, must understand more about art than his own reactions to its forms and meanings. He must realize that the kind of brush, and the kind of stroke it leaves, the preferences in color and in pigments slow or fast—that such things as these are not the impediments of style, but its very being. As Mrs. Kennedy says; "The arts are constrained by their very nature to express themselves through matter. The artist can communicate his intuitions to us only through his technique; and it is a virtue, not a fault in an artist to study how to improve the means of presenting his spiritual impulses in material form."

Since a book like this is not only a contribution to art scholarship but a demonstration of the possible character of such books, two other comments seem not amiss. The

first concerns the excellence of the writing. Mrs. Kennedy gives us English of distinction; she does a good deal to prove that books on art can be intelligible and pleasant reading.

Nor should one need to apologize for remarking the format of a book dedicated to art. We are all aware of the difficulties of publishing books of this sort. The publishers are hardly to be blamed, considering the expense of adequate illustrations, the added cost of composing the book, and the small sale in the end. But it is still a scandal that one cannot stock an art library with English texts. It means that art education, which alone can create a market for art books, is thwarted. It means that scholars must keep on stubbornly pioneering for fine publications, until we can show as healthy a production as, let us say, Germany.

It is a pleasure, therefore, to take up a book as handsome as this. The typography is worthy of notice. The arrangement of footnotes and documents is clear and convenient; perhaps it is ungrateful to wonder why no bibliography is given. The excellent reproductions speak for themselves. Here—thanks to the efforts of Fritz Henle<sup>1</sup> and Clarence Kennedy—one can really check the more minute observations of the text. The details are lovely and significant: such revelations as the fall of St Lucy's robe (p. 19), the apple tree and the carnations on the wall from the Nativity (pp. 104 and 108), or the fine stylised head of Gabriel (p. 148) are experiences in themselves. The Kennedy bottega, the Yale Press, the Meriden Gravure Company, and the American Council of Learned Societies are all to be complimented.

From the point of view of the scholar, *Alesso Baldovinetti* may not be a startling work, but it is satisfying. Many historians, feeling that the rewarding part of quattrocento research has been done, have turned to the earlier or later schools of the Renaissance, but this book shows very well what kind of work there is to do in the Florentine quattrocento. There are few exciting discoveries—a document or two, the presentation of the Baptistery mosaics which no one has observed since Vasari, and other excursions into the minor arts. Instead, there is that pervasive clarification of the whole milieu which is the subtler part of scholarship. The chronology of Baldovinetti's oeuvre—often so much more difficult than its attribution—is argued. Minor masters crystallize out of a welter of unrelated works. Order, in fact, begins to appear. What is really new is the large manipulation of a whole period, that synthesis which is the reward of wide knowledge.

It seems to me that the essential of scholarship (if we take that to mean the pursuit of truth) is a clear distinction between fact and theory. Fact without interpretation is fruitless; but the two must never be confused. It is this clarity which especially distinguishes Mrs. Kennedy's *Baldovinetti*. In no instance is the source of a theory or an attribution neglected. In no instance does she omit the "probably" or "one would like to think" which marks her own opinion. The result is that one tends to trust her judgments. In the larger issues I find that the book offers all the material for its own criticism. It is a book with which one can work further; and is that not the ultimate praise of a piece of scholarship?

ELIZABETH WILDER

Errata, THE ART BULLETIN: XX, p. 287, line 31, following "Friedrich Sarre's.27" insert: "The high cap she wears was quite unknown in contemporary Persia; rather it was the usual headgear of Turkish women in the sixteenth, seventeenth, and eighteenth centuries." And in XX, p. 423, column 1, line 33, read: "From about 1340 . . ." in place of "From about 1430 . . ."